The Lucknow University Magazine

Vol. I. No. 1. September 1922.

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THE LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY JOURNAL.

Vol. I.] SEPTEMBER, 1922. [No. 1.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE CHANCELLOR'S MESSAGE.

His Excellency the Chancellor has graciously sent the following Message to the Lucknow University Journal:—

"I hope and feel sure that the Journal of the Lucknow University will preserve a high standard at all times, and do much good and useful work not only in publishing the news of the University, but also in linking together generations of students, who are separated by place and in time from one another."

FOREWORD.

It is customary, when a new periodical is being ushered into existence, for the Editor to say a word of introduction. To omit a custom sanctioned by long usage on the present occasion would be injudicious, particularly since it affords an opportunity of explaining the considerations which led the authorities to institute the *Lucknow University Journal*.

It is the duty of a University like ours, so largely supported from public funds, to give an account of its stewardship, and, with this end in view, to make a record of its progress available to the public in a more convenient form than is provided in official publications. A certain proportion of the pages of each number of this journal will accordingly be devoted to this purpose. But the intellectual vitality of a University can most truly be judged by the contributions it makes to the original thought of the time, and to the advancement of knowledge; and Universities have always considered it one of their duties to assist the publication of such contributions, made from time to time by members of their body. There is no intention on the part of the authorities to make this journal the sole vehicle of publication; but it is thought that the inclusion in it of original contributions of moderate length may prove an exceedingly valuable modification of the usual functions of such a periodical, and one which is likely to be absolutely distinctive of our University, if worked out successfully. The work of students is by no means to be excluded; rather it is hoped, that the high standard of work set by their teachers will serve both as an incentive and as an example; to foster, on the one hand, an enthusiasm for the patient investigation of new problems, and the diligent pursuit of fresh lines of enquiry, and, on the other hand, to discourage over-hasty publication, the deleterious effects of which have not, perhaps, been sufficiently clearly recognized in the past.

These then are the ideals which those responsible for this new journal have had in view. Their realization lies with those who shall in future contribute to these pages. The task before them and the Editor is no easy one. The criticism has already been offered, that a journal, composed of articles written on a variety of subjects, in technical language, will hardly command a wide circle of readers. This is both true and obvious. At present, owing to the generosity of the University, subscribers are not essential to its existence. Nevertheless, it is clear that the continuation of a periodical without readers would be an anomaly, and entirely without justification, particularly in times like the present. How the difficulty will be met it is hardly possible to predict at this stage. Experience will suggest some solution we have little doubt. In the meantime, one, who has trodden at least the confines which border upon original investigation, may perhaps be permitted to offer a suggestion to those whose knowledge is profounder than his own It has sometimes been a practice with scholars and those engaged in research to publish preliminary studies, or to work up the by-products of their investigations into essays, more or less popular in form and style. An admirable example of the latter is furnished in Professor Ray Lancaster's "Science from an Easy Chair." Now, without presuming to dictate in the matter of contributions, we would submit, with all due deference, that a few such studies, profitable at once to the student and the reading public, would add considerably to the educative value of this journal.

Little remains to be said, except for the Editor to appeal, in conclusion, to his colleagues for their wholehearted co-operation and support; and, in the full assurance that they will not be withheld, he can, without any misgiving, forecast a long and prosperous career for the *Lucknow University Journal.*

UNIVERSITY NOTES.

Three photographs are reproduced in this number. The first is a portrait of His Excellency Sir Spencer Harcourt Butler, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Chancellor of the University. To His Excellency we owe our very existence, and it is with the greatest regret that, while going to press, we learn that he is shortly to leave this province, having been appointed the first Governor of Burma. He has been a most generous patron, and succeeding generations of students will ever have cause to be grateful for the deep interest he has taken in our University, ever since the idea of founding it took shape, and no less for the bountiful provision he has made towards its endowment. It was only fitting, therefore, that the Academic Council at its Meeting on August 8th should have decided to bestow its first honorary degree upon His Excellency. While deploring the loss which the University will sustain from the departure of one who has so carefully watched over its interests, we offer him our sincere congratulations upon his new appointment. The second photograph is a portrait of the Vice-Chancellor, Rai G. N. Chakravarti Bahadur, M.A., LL.B, F.R.S.A., I.S.O. The third was taken on the occasion of the University Sports, held on December 10th last, and shows the Vice-Chancellor accompanying His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to the Shamiana in front of the Medical College, from which His Royal Highness subsequently distributed the prizes.

***

The following new appointments have been made to the staff of the University:—

FACULTY OF ARTS.

Department of English.

Junior Lecturers.

(1) Mr. Syed Amir Ali; B. A., with double second class Honours in Persian, and Philosophy, 1900; M. A. in Philo-

sophy, 1901; stood second in the Calcutta University. B.L., (I Class) 1904 of the same University. He also studied in the University College of London for a year, and made special studies in Continental Philosophy at the Edinburgh and Brussels Universities. He was Professor of English in the Shia College, Lucknow.

(2) Mr. Cecil G. Roy, M. A. (English) 1913, II Class (Allahabad University). He was Professor of English in the Christ Church College, Cawnpore.

(3) Mr. Ashutosh Bhattacharya, M. A., (English) 1922, II Class. Stood first in the Lucknow University.

Department of Indian History, European History, and Political Science.

Lecturer in Ancient Indian History.

Mr. Charan Das Chatterji; B.A., (Calcutta University) in 1919, with first class honours in Pali, M.A., 1921; headed the list in the Pali Group "C" (Epigraphy and History) and stood first in the first class.

Lecturer in European History.

Mr. Bhagat Ram Kumar; B. A., (Oxon.), 1918; took II Class Honours in Modern History, and Political Science. He was Professor of History and Politics in the S. N. College, Hyderabad, Sindh.

Department of Economics and Sociology.

Reader in Economics, (Commerce).

Mr. Bhupendra Nath Chatterji; B. A., with Honours in Political Economy and Political Philosophy, Class I, 1913; stood second in order of merit in the Calcutta University. M. A. in the same subjects, 1915, Class I; stood second in the same University. B.L. Class I, 1917. He was recommended by the U. P Government for a post in the I. E. S., and his name was on the general list of candidates for the I. E. S.

Lecturer in Economics and Sociology.

Mr. Dhurjati Prosad Mukerji; M.A., (Calcutta University) in History, 1918, 2nd class; M.A. in Economics, 1920; stood second in the first class. Was for a year Professor of Economics in the Bangabasi College, Calcutta, and has done research work in Economics.

DEPARTMENT OF ARABIC AND PERSIAN.

Reader in Persian.

Mr. M. B. Rahman; B. A. (Honours in Arabic), I Class, 1916. M. A (Arabic) I Class, 1918. Stood first in both these examinations in the Punjab University. Munshi Fazil (Punjab University). He was also McLeod Research Scholar. In July, 1920, he was selected for a Government of India Scholarship for the Scientific study of Arabic in Europe, and since October, 1920, he has been working in Cambridge on "Jahiz and his works" under the direction of Prof. E. G. Browne of Pembroke College, on which subject he has submitted his thesis for the Ph.D. Degree, which he is expected to take in December next. He is also editing an important Persian work, the *Zad-ul-Musafirin* of the poet-philosopher Nasir Khusru. He has also studied the Syriac and Hebrew languages. Formerly he was Lecturer in Arabic and Persian in the Government College, Lahore.

Lecturer in Arabic.

Mr. Syed Jafar Husain; M. A., in Arabic, (II Division), 1917; LL.B., (I Division), 1918, Allahabad University. Maulvi Fazil, 1906; Munshi Fazil 1907 (Punjab University). Was Professor of Persian and Arabic in the Christian College, Lucknow.

Lecturer in Persian.

Mr. Muhammad Abdul Kavi Fani; M.A., (Allahabad University) in Persian. Has had nine years' experience in teaching. Worked for six years in the Government Morris College, Nagpur.

Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit.

Lecturers in Sanskrit.

(1) Pandit Badri Nath Shastri; M. A., in Sanskrit, 1906, (Allahabad University); and Shastri in Nyaya from the Sanskrit College, Jaipur, 1895. He was also a Research Scholarship holder, and made a special study of Sanskrit Literature and Indian Philosophy from original texts, according to modern methods of critical enquiry, under Dr. Venis. He has been Professor of Sanskrit for the last 16 years; and was, before his appointment to this University, Professor of Sanskrit in the Christ Church College, Cawnpore.

(2) Pandit Adya Datta Thakur; M. A., in Sanskrit, (Allahabad University); studied Pali, Dramaturgy, History of Indian Rhetoric, History of Indian Philosophy, and Epigraphy under Pandit Gopi Nath Kaviraj, M.A., Librarian, Government Sanskrit Library, Benares; and was University Reader of Post-Vedic Culture, Allahabad. He has been Professor of Sanskrit, St Andrews' College, Gorakhpur, for the last 16 years.

Lecturer in Hindi.

Pandit Badri Nath Bhatt; B.A., (Allahabad University) Second class, 1911. Since 1907 has been doing research work in Hindi, and has written many original articles and books in Hindi. Was Head Assistant in the Indian Press, Allahabad.

Lecturer in Urdu.

Mr. Syed Muhammad Hasan Rizvi; B.A., (Allahabad University) Second class. Reviewer of Persian in the Office of the Director of Public Instruction, U. P., for the past three years. Author of five books.

Faculty of Law.

Readers.

(1) Mr. Kripa Shankar Hajela; M. Sc.; LL. B., 1917 (Allahabad University); LL.M. 1922. Stood first in the

Bombay University. He has also appeared for the M.L. Examination of the Madras University this year.

(2) Mr. Ghulam Hasan; B. A. 1912, (II Class); LL.B. 1915, (I Class). Allahabad University. He also passed the Vakil's examination of the Allahabad High Court in 1917.

(3) Mr. Jiban Krishna Banerjee; M. A., (English), LL. B., 1895 (Allahabad University). Is a legal practitioner of long experience.

FACULTY OF COMMERCE.

Lecturer.

Mr. D. Pant; B. Com., (Bombay University); stood first in Advanced Economics, and did Research work for a year under the late Mr. Anstey and Prof. Geddes. He was Lecturer in Commerce in the Government Commercial College, Lahore.

Lecturer in Economics and Commerce.

Mr. Daya Shanker Dubey; M.A., (Allahabad University) in Economics, 1919, Second class. University Research Scholar. Has written a book and many articles on his subject. Was Professor of Economics in the Ewing Christian College, Allahabad.

Assistant Librarian.

Mr. V. R. Thakar; B.A., LL.B., (Bombay University). After having been a Munsiff and Magistrate in the Baroda State service for five years, received special training under Mr. Borden, Library Specialist of the American Library Association, for one year; and was appointed Librarian in the Central Library, Baroda, in which capacity he worked for three years.

***

Professor M. B. Cameron, head of the Philosophy Department, has taken three months' furlough. Mr. S. P. Roy, M.Sc., is acting as a temporary lecturer in that department during his absence. Professor Cameron's duties as

Dean of the Faculty of Arts are being carried out by Mr. S. B. Smith.

* * *

Dr. Wali Muhammad, head of the Department of Physics, and Dean of the Faculty of Science, has also taken three months' furlough. Mr. J. N. Ganguly, M.A., is acting as a temporary lecturer in the Physics Department until his return. The duties of the Dean of the Faculty of Science are being carried out by Mr. P. S. MacMahon.

* * *

Mr. K. C. Pandalai, B.Sc., has resigned his post as Lecturer in the Faculty of Commerce.

* * *

The following figures show the number of post-graduate students working in the various Departments of the University:—

	Previous.	*Final.*
M.A.		
English ...	18	5
Philosophy ...	8	2
History ...	14	6
Economics ...	17	7
Sanskrit ...	5	3
Persian ...	8	...
Arabic ...	2	...
Mathematics ...	4	1
M.Sc.		
Physics ...	2	...
Chemistry ...	6	2
Botany ...	4	3
Zoology ...	5	...

* * *

The numbers of students admitted into the first year classes for the various degrees are as follows:—

B.A. ...	102	B. Com. (Prev.) ...	25
B.Sc. ...	55	1st M.B., B.S. ...	50
LL.B. (Previous)	175		

NOTE:—These figures represent the number admitted. The number of students taking Honours will be reported in a later number of the Journal.

In the Isabella Thoburn College for Women Students, there are three students in the first year and ten in the second year B.A. classes. An M.A. Course in History has been started this session, the classes being conducted by Miss Manchester and Miss Eustis Three students, one of whom observes strict purdah, have taken the course. Besides receiving instruction within the College, they will attend, it is hoped, some of the University lectures. Extensive new buildings, a part of which will be devoted to the accommodation of University students, are in process of erection on a site to the north of the Fyzabad Road. Physical training and Hygiene classes, which are compulsory for all students, have been started in the College, and are conducted by Miss Salzer. Miss Thillayampalam, who was a member of the teaching staff last session, has been awarded a fellowship of Rs. 3,000 per annum for study abroad She is at present studying in Columbia University.

***

An extension of the Biological Laboratory of the Canning College is now under construction, and is expected to be ready for use shortly.

***

A new Hostel to accommodate a hundred students is being erected on the west side of the Badshah Bagh. An extension of the Meston Hostel to accommodate about forty more students is also under construction. Both will be completed, it is hoped, within the present session. In the meantime the following temporary arrangements for students, unable to obtain admission to the existing Hostels, have been made. Two bungalows on the Strand Road, to the west of the Iron Bridge, have been bought by the University. One of these, suitable for the accommodation of forty students, has been handed over to the Medical College. The second, as well as a bungalow in Chini Bazar Road, to the south of Kaiserbagh, which has been taken on lease, have been allotted to students of the Faculties of Arts, Science, and Commerce.

The following are the results of the various University Examinations, held in April and May, 1922:—

		No. of Examinees.	No. passed.
M.A. (Final)	...	6	5
M.A. (Previous)	...	31	24
M.Sc. (Final)	...	1	1
M.Sc. (Previous)	...	8	7
B.A.	...	157	120
B.Sc.	...	26	23
LL.B. (Previous)	...	48	29
	Medicine.		
D.P.H.	...	10	7
1st M.B.B.S.	...	52	43
Final „ (A)	...	29	22
„ „ (B)	...	27	15
M S.	...	1	...

***

The following dates have been fixed for the Ordinary Meetings of the Executive and Academic Councils and the Faculties of the University. Special Meetings will be convened whenever necessary at which only special business will be transacted:—

August 1922.

Saturday, 26th.	Executive Council	... 5 p.m.
Monday, 28th.	Faculty of Arts	... 8 a.m.
Do.	„ „ Science	... 3 p.m.
Tuesday, 29th.	„ „ Medicine	... 8 a.m.
Do.	„ „ Law	... 5 p.m.
Wednesday, 30th.	„ „ Commerce	... 8 a.m.

September 1922.

Friday, 15th.	Academic Council	... 5 p.m.
Saturday, 23rd.	Executive Council	... „

October 1922.

Saturday, 28th.	Executive Council	... 5 p.m.

November 1922.

Monday, 13th. Faculty of Arts ... 3 p.m.
Wednesday, 15th. Faculty of Science ... 3 „
Friday, 17th. Faculty of Medicine ... 5 „
Monday, 20th. Faculty of Law ... 5 „
Wednesday, 22nd. Faculty of Commerce, 5 „
Saturday, 25th. Executive Council ... 5 „

December 1922.

Thursday, 7th. Academic Council ... 4-30 p.m.
Friday, 22nd. Executive Council ... 5 „

January 1923.

Saturday, 27th. Executive Council ... 5 p.m.

February 1923.

Monday, 12th. Faculty of Arts ... 3 p.m.
Wednesday, 14th. Faculty of Science ... 3 „
Friday, 16th. Faculty of Medicine ... 4-30 p.m.
Monday, 19th. Faculty of Law ... „
Wednesday, 21st. Faculty of Commerce, „
Saturday, 24th. Executive Council ... 5 p.m.

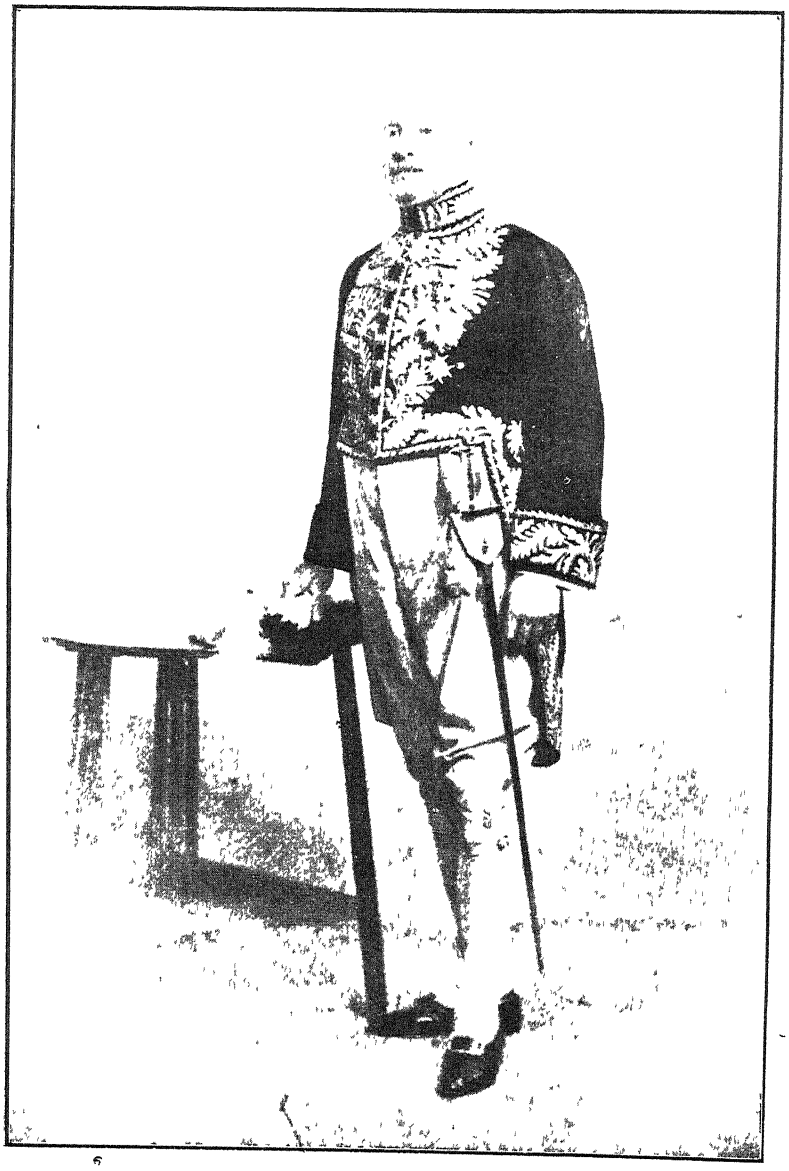
March 1923.

Wednesday, 7th. Academic Council ... 4-30 p.m.
Saturday, 31st. Executive Council ... 5 p.m.

April 1923.

Saturday, 28th. Executive Council ... 5 p.m.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY.



HIS EXCELLENCY SIR SPENCER HARCOURT BUTLER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.,
GOVERNOR OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY.

It is by no means an unusual phenomenon that human effort does not succeed in securing the desired object, but is, nevertheless, not lost, inasmuch as it bears fruit in ways other than those contemplated. This is comparatively common on the plane of thought on which a full head of steam does not invariably make the engine run on carefully laid out lines. The history of the two greatest religions of the world—Buddhism and Christianity—illustrates the fact that a great spiritual impulse obtains its most momentous manifestation far removed from the centre of its origin. In the history of higher education in India, we find a parallel to this somewhat unexpected turn of events in the development of University ideals and practice, consequent on the labours of the Calcutta University Commission of 1917-19. It was to tackle the problems arising out of the working of the Calcutta University, that a body of such eminent educationists as composed the Commission were called together; it was to discover the merits and demerits of that institution that important evidence of competent critics was obtained; it was to determine the best means of eliminating its defects, and of developing its usefulness, that the Commission deliberated and discussed for two long years, familiarizing itself by visits to other Indian Universities with the system prevailing in them, for purposes of comparison; and it was for the reorganization of the Calcutta University on an improved model, that the voluminous report, dealing in a masterly way with every detail of University Education, has been written. And yet, it is astounding to observe, how little actual reform in that University has crystallized out of the solutions of the manifold problems propounded in this Report, which is an educational master-piece, and which, fortunately for India, possesses a permanent value,

apart from the immediate needs of the Calcutta University. The coming into being of the Dacca University, which is, more or less, in the nature of a by-product, is probably the only tangible result of the monumental labours of the Commission, so far as the University of Calcutta is concerned. Happily, however, the seeds of sage counsel and expert guidance, contained in the Report, have been wafted to other parts of the vast Indian Empire and have fallen on less sterile soil, and been nurtured in an atmosphere propitious to their germination and growth. And in no part of the country have they found conditions more favourable to their fructification than in the United Provinces, which happens to have as its ruler one, with whom the love of the people committed to his care is an instinct, and their education on sound lines almost a passion. It was his far-sighted statesmanship that made it possible for the first non-official University to come into being at Benares, and it was he who laid the foundation for the construction of its counter-part at Aligarh. An intrepid pioneer in educational experiments, and an enthusiast in educational reforms, he was not slow to profit by the wealth of wisdom embodied in the Report of the Calcutta University Commission, as the result of prolonged and pains-taking deliberation of men, eminently qualified to pronounce an opinion on educational problems, in the careful study of which neither time nor money was spared. He at once made up his mind to reorganize the semi-official University of the Provinces at Allahabad, the character and constitution of which are similar to those of the Calcutta University, in conformity with the recommendations of the Commission, and, by the passing of the Allahabad University Act, this work of reconstruction has been started. As the Allahabad University consisted mainly of affiliated institutions, flung far and wide throughout the United Provinces and beyond, the task of reorganization involved considerations of vested interests and the solution of questions of some complexity. No such obstacles would hamper the progress of a new University, with a clean slate

to write on; and with his characteristic zeal, His Excellency Sir Harcourt Butler decided to create a University at Lucknow, where the demand for decentralization had already been pronounced for some years past.

The cardinal fact which has to be remembered in connection with the infant University of Lucknow is, that, although it affords a fitting instrument for trying a novel experiment in University Education in India, on the lines suggested by the Calcutta University Commission, it is not prematurely brought into being for experimental purposes. That it has not seen the light of the day any too soon is evidenced by the healthy vigour, which has characterized it from almost the day of its birth, and from the prominent place it has found in the hearts of the people among whom it is born. The unstinted support it has received from all classes of the public, bears abundant testimony to its having materialised itself in response to a popular demand, even if it is the embodiment of a new idea. The *Taluqdars* of Oudh have never become quite reconciled to the merging of their favourite province, with its marked characteristics, into the neighbouring province of Agra; and the ceaseless effort to maintain, and even enhance the prestige of their Appellate Court, is only one of the indications of the spirit, which loves to preserve for the province of Oudh its own traditions and distinctive features. The prospect of having a University of their own, separate from the University of Allahabad, has always appealed to the imagination of the *Taluqdars*, in the same way as the idea of possessing a Court of Appeal, separate from the High Court at Allahabad. And it must be said in favour of these barons of Oudh, that, whatever their faults, they are not slow in opening their purse strings in the support of any public object regarding the utility of which they are convinced. If they fancy their own particular tune, they are also willing to pay the piper to play it to them. And it is a matter of intense satisfaction to all lovers of higher education, that, directly the ruler of the Province, with his remarkable sympathy and understanding, under-

took seriously to take active steps towards the creation of a University at Lucknow, the *Taluqdars* and people of Oudh came forward to help quite generously, and, in less than a year's time, subscribed nearly 30 lakhs for the fulfilment of their cherished dream. It will thus be seen that the Lucknow University is the outcome of a popular demand, and is not an official organization foisted upon the public, regardless of their wishes and feelings in the matter.

Another factor, which has contributed largely to the natural and easy development of the University, was the existence in Lucknow of a number of educational institutions of the Collegiate type, which formed a solid foundation upon which the University edifice could, with safety, be constructed. Foremost of such institutions is the Canning College, which, indeed, is the nucleus of the University, and which has been the source of light and learning for the people of Oudh for over half a century. It is an eloquent testimony to the generosity of the *Taluqdars*, and their sense of appreciation of the benefits of Western education, that, at such an early stage of its introduction in India, they endowed this College in perpetuity by a *Sanad* duly executed, with a charge of one half per cent on the revenue demands of their Estates This endowment has once more been put on a firm and legal basis by the Canning College Contribution Act of 1920. And as the Canning College, with all its endowments and property, has been transferred to the Lucknow University by the Canning College Act of 1922, this magnificent endowment is at the disposal of the University. Rich and generous, as the endowment was, it would not have sufficed for the needs of the College, and all its expansions and developments, but for the steady and liberal aid it has ever received at the hands of the Government. Next to the Canning College stands the King George's Medical College in supplying the new University with its building materials. Although it is a much younger institution, having been started only about a decade ago, its importance cannot be over-rated, as it has already taken

rank among the most efficient and up-to-date educational institutions in the country. This College was a Government institution, and was, with its magnificent Hospital, formally transferred to the University in March, 1921. The Isabella Thoburn Ladies' College has been the foremost Women's College in the United Provinces for the last thirty years, and it now forms the Women's Department of the University. It is only fair to mention that, in the preparation of the ground for the rearing up of the University, no mean part was taken by the Lucknow Christian College, maintained, like the Isabella Thoburn College, by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Eyangelical Church of New York.

All these Colleges, however, were, before the creation of the University, isolated units without any community of interest, and without any common bond save that of affiliation to a distant University, which, indeed, had little bearing on the life, aims, and ideals of these institutions. Some of the older Colleges, like the Canning College and the Isabella Thoburn College, were, in the beginning, affiliated to the University of Calcutta, situated at a distance of over 600 miles; and the only relation, which subsisted between them and the University, consisted in the University prescribing the standards and courses of study for the various examinations, which were held under its auspices. With the establishment of the Allahabad University, and particularly after the passing of the Indian Universities Act of 1904, this very shadowy and nebulous connection of the Colleges with the University deepened into a comparatively closer contact with the University of Allahabad, which assumed more of a federal character. Although the University did not undertake any direct teaching or exercise any influence upon College life, still, several of the members of the teaching staff of the Colleges were allowed places on the University bodies, and had a powerful voice in its deliberations and decisions. But not all the Colleges were so represented, nor was the representation of a particular College a statutory obligation. With the establishment of the Lucknow

University, however, all the Colleges form vital portions of the organic life of the University, and all teachers, barring a few junior lecturers, are *ex-officio* members of the Academic Council of the University.

The fact is, that the new University at Lucknow is constituted on a model entirely different to that of the older Indian Universities. Its principal characteristics are, that it undertakes, with the help and advice of its teachers, all the formal teaching in the University (the Colleges being units of residence in which informal teaching is given), and makes itself responsible for the residence, health, and discipline of all its students In order to achieve the end in view, its constitution is fundamentally different, and is framed, more or less on the model of the modern Teaching Universities in England. Its main feature is that there is almost a complete separation of the academic and executive functions of the University All academic matters are dealt with by the Academic Council, which consists wholly of teachers, while the administration of the University is carried on by the Executive Council. It is true that the latter body has to pass formally important decisions, even in academic matters in the shape of Ordinances; but these Ordinances are framed by the Academic Council, and the Executive Council's power of interference is reduced to a negligible minimum. Over both these bodies looms large in the background, but with potentialities of a considerable manifestation of power, the Court of the University, which is a large body representing various interests, which should legitimately have a voice in determining the broad lines of policy of the University, and in exercising a kind of general supervision over its working.

The Lucknow University has been in existence for about a year, and the first year of its life has been spent principally in creating and perfecting its machinery, as also in making a detailed survey of its field of activity, and in preparing it for the work that lies before it In order to create the necessary conditions for the assimilation by its students of such knowledge and culture as it might impart,

it adopted the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission, of making the passing of the Intermediate, or a higher examination, a condition of admission into any of its Faculties; and a start was made with the Faculties of Arts, Science, Medicine, Law, and Commerce. It was, however, recognized, even in the nascent stage, that it is the men who make the University; and it therefore began its career by taking steps to draw together a number of teachers, who would, in their persons, represent learning and culture of a high order, and would thus be an inspiration to their students, not only in the process of intellectual growth, but in the far more important process of the building up of character, in other words, the growth of the soul. With this object in view, a number of appointments have been, and are being made, and it is hoped that, in the course of a few years, the University will have travelled an appreciable way towards the attainment of its chief object—the formation of a real centre of learning and culture. It has also been the constant endeavour of the authorities to keep steadily in view the aim, that the culture which the University represents should have a national bias, adumbrate all that has been and is best in Indan learning and traditions, and should make a natural appeal to Indian instincts and sentiments. In order to afford facilities for the realization of this object, a separate Department of Indian History was created from the very outset, and was put under the charge of a distinguished exponent of that department of knowledge. This does not imply any relaxation of effort in familiarizing students with European History, upon a sound knowledge of which must be based a study of the modern science of Politics, which constitutes a prominent department of work in the University. Similarly, although the latest theories and facts of Economics, derived from experience in the West, are taught, the Professor never fails to present the subject in an Eastern setting, and to bring out the features which would be in consonance with Indian conditions and theories of life. Again, while Western Philosophy is taught on orthodox

lines, an attempt is being made to bring into prominence the study of Indian Philosophy with all its wealth of inspiration and metaphysical research. And it is not only by means of formal instruction in the University that the student is made to understand and appreciate the Indian point of view, but by supplementary lectures bearing on these subjects, which are open to the public, and by tutorial work in seminar classes.

It must not, however, be supposed that because a certain amount of emphasis is laid on the cultural side of Indian civilization, the cultivation of Western Sciences is neglected or kept in the background The authorities of the University have a keen and vivid realization of the fact that, without such cultivation, the progress of India can only be lop-sided, and that it can never take its legitimate place in the scale of nations For some unknown reason the Science side has not, in the past, received in the Colleges at Lucknow the same attention as the Arts side; but all that is changed now. Post-graduate and research work is now done in Physics, Chemistry, Botany, and Zoology under teachers of some eminence; and it is hoped, that the results of the labours in the Laboratories will indirectly help the industrial development of the country in the same way as they have done in other countries. A scheme is already on foot, under which the Government Technical School at Lucknow will be so raised in status, as to form the University Department of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, and to facilitate the creation of a Faculty of Engineering in the University.

Although the forming and culture of the intellect occupies, and rightly occupies, a prominent place in the activities of the University, the fact is not lost sight of, that it is the function of the University to create an atmosphere, in which may flourish not only the intellect, but, what is greater than intellect, the Soul. Soul culture is not something which can be achieved by a course of lectures, even if the choice of the right kind of literature is a great help. It depends chiefly upon bringing to bear upon the plastic

material of the student's mind influences, which will surely, if silently, mould it into a mirror, so that it may unerringly reflect the glory of the God within. Constant and close contact with men, in whom devotion to ideals and learning has lit the lamp of wisdom, so that its glow may guide and warm those who come near it, is the surest means of building up that stability and nobility of character, which is essential for national as well as individual greatness. The University therefore seeks to resuscitate the old Indian ideals of education, of bringing the *Gurus* into intimate personal relation with the students, so that the former may have frequent opportunities of influencing, by diverse and subtle means, the inner self of the students, making them worthy of their past civilization and of the great motherland. Every student is, therefore, on admission to the University, assigned to a particular teacher, who is to him *in loco parentis*, and in a special way responsible for the well-being of the student throughout his career in the University And as the type of the University is residential, the occasions for the students meeting the teachers of the University outside the class-room, and even the seminar classes, should be numerous. To facilitate this intercourse and to develop the social side, not only do the teachers take part in the games, but they join the students in all their social activities, including the organizing of dramatic entertainments, which form not the least interesting and educative factor of University life. With the same object in view a University Union has been established, of which every student and every teacher of the University is a member, and which has been provided by the University with a picturesque and special building.

It will thus be seen that the University has started life with high purpose and noble resolve. The future is upon the lap of the Gods; but every endeavour is being made to make it a real centre of sound learning, uplifting culture and compelling moral vitality, so that it may send out to the world men, whose minds have been so fortified by ramparts

of broad tolerance, balanced judgment, deep understanding, and constructive patriotism, that they may successfully withstand the batterings of the forces of ignorance and hatred, which drive humanity into the wilds of barbarism and anarchy.



Rai G N Chakravarti Bahadur, M A, LL B, I S O, F R S A,
Vice-Chancellor, Lucknow University

COMPARATIVE POLITICS FROM EASTERN DATA.

§1. *The Ethnic and Regional Approach to Politics.*

The existing classifications of political institutions have seldom gone beyond the old classical hypothesis, though they deal with modern historical developments. They have looked chiefly to structural resemblances or differences for the purposes of induction. The biological ideas that have proved so successful in the sphere of sociological interpretation as well as the comparative method, which has already established itself in studies like Ethnology and Jurisprudence, must now be applied to the investigation of types and forms of polity, in reference to their regional origins and their historical stages of development. Starting with the environmental and ethnic conditions, such an investigation would seek to unite the historical method in tracing the unfolding of different political ideals and organizations, with the method of Regional Politics conceived on the plan and pattern of a multilinear as opposed to a unilinear evolution. Again, the analysis of the various types must be more searching, more adequate. Forms of government should be classified not merely on the ground that the seat of authority is in one individual, or in a few, or in the many ; or that it is in one or more classes ; nor on the ground of a distinction between political and legal sovereignty, but they should also be examined in relation to such factors of Political Stratigraphy as (*a*) the combination or the separation of the principal functions of a State, such as the executive, the legislative, the judicial ; (*b*) the gradation in point of authority of such functions and their organs ; or (*c*) the principle of the formation of political classes among whom these functions of the State are distributed. Under the last head, we may consider whether the political classes are based on leadership in war, ethnic differences, priority of

settlement or migration, possession of land or wealth, family status, specialized administrative or bureaucratic training or discipline in service, or as in some modern constructions, on the representation of social or economic interests. Again, it is a point of fundamental importance whether, on the one hand, territorial classification or it may be a hierarchy of organically related and mutually interdependent neighbourhood groups, is dominant in the polity; or whether, on the other hand, the representation of socio-economic functions or interests, such as in classes, guilds, soviets or workingmen's councils, unions, and federations, is the distinctive feature. Political thinkers have hitherto neglected the full significance of such factors. Alike in their description and analysis of the data and in their survey of historical movements they have thus missed many a relevant form or mark essential to a scientific classification.

§2. *The method of interpretation.*

A natural classification of political types must take its stand on the relation between the different grades or classes in society and the specific functions or values which those classes represent in race origin and development. As the social stratification and the gradation of social values, which furnish the basis for political developments have thus an ethnic history behind them, Comparative Politics depends for its primary classification on the data furnished by Comparative Anthropology (including Ethnology) and Comparative Sociology (including Jurisprudence, Law, Economics, etc.) The political traditions in different races depend upon their social composition and constitution. There is, indeed, an intimate connection between the ethnogenic (and social) evolution of a community and the gradation in point of authority of the different organs of the body politic, in other words, the form and organization of government by which the community is ruled. The foundations of political development are accordingly furnished by

distinctive factors relating to geography, race-psychology, social and political history, and their action and inter-action in producing the political values of the region. And, indeed, from a patient analysis of the mass of regional data we begin to perceive that it is possible as a matter of logical framework to make a twofold division of regional politics in all their natural diversity and heterogeneity. The first division or order may be designated as the order of monistic states depending on the theory of a sovereign fiat which creates as well as ratifies; while the second order may be termed the order of pluralistic states of which the basic concept is that of a co-ordination of quasi-independent particulate jurisdictions But these are after all broad divisions and we must not forget the central and ultimate fact of social classes, functions, and values in adaptation to the geographical and ethnic environment which constitutes the life and soul, as it explains the origin and growth of the individual states that in all their abounding heterogeneity are comprehended within these natural orders.

§3. *The Law of Correspondence.*

We thus reach the new concepts of Functional and Regional Politics. In conformity with the fundamental principles of multilinear evolution and regional variation, political systems are seen to vary with gradations of social values and the schemes of social stratification in different regions; each system develops its own norms and categories, with each is correlated a proper type of ethnic, customary, legal, economic, and other institutions. We thus arrive at what we term the Law of Correspondence.* For example, there is a correspondence between a legal system in which customary usages as such are independent sources of law irrespectively of the sovereign's command, and a political system in which local bodies originating directly from the people exercise a co-ordinate or even a quasi-independent

* Compare Tarde's principle of Political Repetition.

jurisdiction with the central state in certain spheres of civil rights or of local and functional administration. Certain theocratic and patriarchal states similarly are found associated in history with corresponding types of the family, as in China, and Japan, or the church as in Judaism and Islam. Again, the distribution of franchise among the components of the political system tends to reflect the differences of social status among the classes that enter into the social composition. In the same way, where there is a threefold division of the economic organisation, with separation of the landed, the capitalistic and the labouring interests we often find a similar triple basis in the body politic in the form of the Tiers Etat or the bicameral legislature. The triple chord in such cases is alike political and economic On the other hand, an absence of social differentiation, as in Islam, is accompanied by the negation of all political inequalities based on birth or wealth or hereditary landed possession except so far as such differences are created by the fiat of the sovereign as the exponent and organ of the divine fiat. In another and a minor field, the ecclesiastical organisation of Papacy is known to have corresponded to the political constitution of Imperial Rome, even as at the other end of the scale the monarchic organisation ordained by the Buddha was modelled on the same democratic lines as the polity of the various Sakya or Koliya clans or communities which saw its birth though the council of the Eighty and the appointment of the chief disciples, and personal attendants of the Dharmaraj, modelled as it seems after the oligarchic and monarchical traditions of Magadha and Kosala, were engrafted to it. This Law of Correspondence applies not only to the internal constitution of a state, enabling us to define types of polity and their evolution, but also holds good in the sphere of inter-state relations when by territorial expansion, conquest, colonisation or otherwise a state grows into an empire or a confederacy. Wars in history so far as they have a direct constitutional significance have often been the outcome of a clash and conflict in ideals of political com-

position. Many have been the wars of conformity in human history from the Athenian friendship with republican Corcyra to the late world war in which one type of polity or constitution, internal as well as external, has really sought to expand and attain to world supremacy at the expense of a rival form of polity. Whether the self-determination of petty independent states or their consolidation in a central authority as in the Teutonic demand for a Mittel Europa should rule the political destiny of the world is the sphinx's riddle which has been proposed to a distracted Europe. But this is only a modern phase of the age-long conflict between divergent socio-political aims and ideals which has been the key to the history of many an economic and territorial expansion.

The Law of Correspondence in its application to different cultural regions thus points to a more adequate Philosophy of Politics and a more comprehensive Science of History.

§4. *Applied Politics.*

We may now turn to the applications of this principle to the great problems of political reconstruction. The organisation of constituent associations and groups on different principles in different types of polity furnishes the key to experimental constructions in this field. In view of the coming world-wide changes in political ideals, political regionalism will play an increasingly important part in the state and inter-state constructions of the future. The contemporary problems of political readjustment in which self-determination, race, or religious cohesion and historical convention are now in irreconcilable strife, as well as the insistent problems of tropical reconstruction so characteristic of this century can only be solved by Applied Politics on a scientific, regional basis.

The descriptive part of the work undertaken here forms but a preliminary survey in which we have confined our-

selves to eastern forms of polity. The methodology is the same as that of my 'Principles of Comparative Economics.' The thread of argument in my previous writings is here developed to fit in with a new order of social phenomena. Here in the east we trace the differences in the nature, functions and values of the state and the myriad communal groups to different principles of social stratification and group organisation.

§5. *The Different Principles of Social Stratification in the West and the East.*

Both Chinese and Indian civilisations are organised for peace, and the government or the military class play a small part in the social scheme. Both in China and India, the leading class is intellectual; in China it is less priestly and more official than in India. The following are the main classes below the priest emperor recognised in the traditional Chinese social system: (1) the mandarins who correspond partly to the officials of the western world and partly to its teachers and clerics, (2) the peasants, (3) the artisans, (4) the merchants. The mandarins are drawn by a competitive examination from all classes of the community. Each of these classes has its organs of social government virtually independent in its own jurisdiction, and the classics and sacred traditions encourage their voluntary co-operation for the peaceful routine of life Economically the Chinese land has always been cut up into small holdings divided among all the sons of the family. They are chiefly freeholds, and cultivated intensively There are no great permanent estates as in the western world, thus there has not developed an exclusive aristocracy of landed wealth. The age-long distinction between the nobility (the patricians) and the commonalty (the plebeians), which has received a picturesque enforcement in the science of heraldry, and which has been the basis of the pyramidal growths of protectors and subordinates and sub-subordinates associated with the feudal

system in Western Europe has not been here manifest. In Western Europe out of the breakdown of the Empire in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries has arisen feudalism, traces of which are still to be found in the social and political structure of every European community west of Russia. Men's ideas turned rather to leaders than to groups of communities and the centres about which affairs crystallized were here barbaric chiefs, here a vigorous bishop or some surviving claimant to a Roman official position, here a long-recognised land-owner or man of ancient family, and here again some vigorous usurper of power.* In a breakdown in China—and both China and India had seen times of confusion and insecurity—we find people with social habits and communal traditions linking themselves not with the chief or the landlord or the military protector, but forming local vigilance groups which would combine and restore a police administration and a roughly democratic rule. In the communal democracies of East Asia natural associations and alliances of village communities, guilds, and brotherhoods grew into a system instead of the grouping for mutual protection of men and estates, which has supplied the framework of the European polity. In social history the war-captive and the slave class play a smaller part in China and India than in any more westerly record of these ages before the Christian era. A peaceful social life in the less militaristic eastern Asiatic countries, continental in their size, has encouraged social solidarity and the co-operation of classes. The western world divided into relatively smaller disjointed states and cultures by natural barriers has emphasised the antagonism of groups as the mode in politics, while the diversity of race and tradition in a more various and eventful world has delayed and perhaps arrested for ever any parallel organisation of the specially intellectual class which has directed eastern Asian society in lines of voluntary group co-operation. Thus the village gentry, guilds, and associations began a sway over the yellow civilisation

* Wells' Outline of History, p. 133.

still undisturbed by the modern tendencies of centralised administration.

§6. *The Composition and Constitution of Indian Communalism.*

We may next turn to the social development of India, and here the first point that strikes us is the extraordinary fission and complication of the social body due to the diversity of races and stocks,—Negrito, Dravidian, Mongolian, Aryan, Scythian, Semitic, etc.,—which admit of no complete assimilation by a central and organising culture. Classes are fixed and called castes. These form the very backbone of the body politic. Castes in the Hindu social scheme have their local organisations ramifying into branches and sub-branches which maintain their own police and punish crime, administer a common fund, and organise poor relief and protect the interests of the members or it may be the interests of a craft or trade. The organisation of the original Dravidian inhabitants was far less differentiated, but it was the Dravidians who were gradually comprehended within the Hindu fold and who greatly determined the structure of social government and agricultural organisation. The Aryans took the rule of the country they conquered over the Dravidians, already tilling the soil and settled under their own headman and Panchayat who derived their position from a clan constitution, in which the smaller septs or section (of 'village' dimensions) had their petty chiefs as the larger groups had their greater chiefs and patriarchs-in-council. The Panchayat which was originally meant to control the annual redistribution of holdings and to administer cheap and speedy justice among the Dravidians thus became an important feature in the Hindu polity, and the migration of culture is nowhere more manifest than in the ubiquitousness of this institution and its procedure. The semi-Hinduised aborigines were assigned a place as castes and tribes in the lower rungs of the Hindu social ladder and their Panchayats

to-day are most irrepressible Dravidian institutions. Beginning with the original polity of the Dravidian folks we find in great strength and cohesion among many of the Indian tribes and castes an elaborate village *Panchayat* system with its usual complement of village officers based upon a federal union of villages under a sub-divisional headman and council. The old tribal jurisdictions as well as the central government of the chiefs-in-council, or local hereditary chiefs, or, again, a strong democratic organisation of circles of village councils, still survive; but the most vital of the Dravidian survivals are (1) the social control exercised by the standing assemblies of the castes, (2) the local jurisdictions of the assemblies of groups of from five to hundred villages, (3) the communal apportionment of revenue burdens and of political duties of all kinds according to the measure of rights in the tribal subdivisions, (4) the agrarian distribution under the scattered field system and the equalisation of agricultural and grazing rights in the village community, and (5) lastly the organisation of watch and ward as well as the allotment of lands for village officials, artisans, and menials. These are still found in almost all parts of India, though with the greatest persistence and vitality in the south, which shows the largest Dravidian admixture But it is not merely the Dravidians who have given to India her characteristic social constitution. More important still are the contributions of the Aryan culture which organised Munda or Dravidian, Negrito, or Mongolian elements in a social system of which the categories and postulates were largely supplied by the Aryan tradition, characterised as it is by the greater emphasis on the individual in the various spheres and relations of social life. Accordingly, we find that village communities in the north often diverge from the southern or Dravidian models. They recognize the rights of individual households and families to shares in the village settlement independently of the community, though the apportionment of common burdens is always a co-ordinate principle in the agrarian distribution. In the same way the

juristic rights of individual families are always protected in an Aryan community by being grounded in immemorial custom or *achara*, which sets a limit to the decisions of the village councils In both these respects the Dravidian tradition gave a dominant position to all unanimous counsels of the people. It was the community who created, maintained, and readjusted from time to time the agrarian distribution ; and it was the same body whose occasional decisions in moots and assemblies were the perpetual source of rights and usages. The Aryans accepted these data as social facts but worked them into their scheme of social organization by inventing suitable concepts and machinery, and this they did systematically in every field, economic and legal, æsthetic and religious, social as well as political. It was thus that the Aryans became the artificers of the moulds in which the Indian polity was cast. This polity has had an abiding place in the story of the Indian civilization. North and south, east, and west, everywhere the introduction of new settlers artisans, and menials has altered the social composition of the village but its framework of autonomous internal polity thus created out of Aryan and non-Aryan fusions has not changed.

Broadly speaking the Indian communal polity has expanded on three basic lines; one on the kinship, another on the occupation, and the third on the neighbourhood basis. There are caste Panchayats extending their jurisdiction over a wide field, from a sub-caste to the whole brotherhood inhabiting a large number of villages and extending even over a whole province. There are occupational groups arising independently, or it may be out of kinship or neighbourhood relations or an admixture of both, which have similar extending circles of authority. There are, again, territorial Panchayats, or folkmoots in which political, occupational, and ethnical elements are fused, and of which the jurisdictions also extend over villages and groups of villages. All these principles of kinship, occupation, and neighbourhood have intermingled, thus constituting a hierarchy of popular

juridical and administrative bodies with extending and often intersecting circles of authority. The same fusion of the elements of occupation and local association is seen in the constitution of city guilds and their expansion into unions and confederations.

Unfortunately the expansion and development of the pluralistic polity in India and China has been checked, even as the development of the Indian village community, essentially an economic democracy, has been wapped by legislation and administration based on the individualistic Romano-Gothic concepts of social and legal polity. The formation of Federative Unions or Confederations of local and functional groups will represent the coming stage in the social and political history of the east. A type of communal-federal democracy thus rising layer upon layer on the bedrock of original and essential groups, local, communal, or functional, must necessarily be more suitable for China and India than the imported western institution of representative democracy based on party and territorial regimentation. It is only thus that communalism will be reoriented and expanded into a national state of a new type, which shall give due recognition to the complementary principles of state monism and state pluralism in its organization. And it is only thus that communalism shall be enabled to withstand the forces of centralization and exploitation of the mechanical State which has now threatened the peace and liberties of people in the west and the east alike.

RADHA KAMAL MUKHERJEE.

"THE MECHANISTIC ASPECT OF GRAVITATION."

From the time when men began to wonder at the world and ponder over its mysteries, they have puzzled over the problems of the Universe. In spite of man being nothing but a mote in an infinity of infinities, he has discovered numberless things. With his Coulomb's balance he can weigh the Earth, and with the aid of his scientific laws determine the mass of the planets and the Moon, and predict eclipses. He has found that the solar system was formerly a nebula which by gravitation and cooling formed the sun and the planets. It was this inquiring attitude which led Galileo, Kepler, and Hooke towards the conception of universal gravitation, and Newton formulated the compact law of gravitation.

Ever since Newton's time physicists have been trying to find out how atoms and molecules are linked with one another. All space is considered to be filled with all-pervading ether, and it is through this ether that bodies influence one another. There is another school which completely dismisses the idea of ether. There are Relativists who give a new meaning to the term mass and say that even light and heat energies have mass.

The study of the nature of gravitation is beset with unusual difficulties, because gravitation is always with us and around us. It is the one universal phenomenon, and we cannot escape from its influence. We cannot obtain any outside point of view. It is difficult to measure or even to detect attraction between two small bodies. But when the bodies are of planetary size, the aggregate attraction of their molecules is enormous.

It is beyond all doubt that gravitation is a phenomenon pervading all ether. But how has its influence originated? How is it transmitted and maintained? What is its mechanism? Whatever the phenomena, all of them must

be explainable by the laws of mechanics; because mechanics is the basis of every manifestation in the Universe. Why, even every phase of animal life is entirely worked by mechanism.

Let us take the case of a falling body. Any one with a little knowledge of forces and their effects will at once know that it gathers energy from some source, as shown by its acceleration; that this energy may do external work and develop heat; that the amount of energy gathered is measured directly by the distance fallen through, irrespective of the time or rate of falling When the distance fallen through is of interplanetary magnitude, and the attracting body large, the gathered energy is enormous, sufficient if converted into heat, to vapourise the most refractory falling body. Whence comes this energy acquired by a fallen body? It was not contained in the body before its fall, because during the fall, none of the physical or chemical attributes of the body, apart from its acquired motion, changes in the slightest degree.

We are told that before the fall, the body was endowed with "potential energy" which is changed into "kinetic energy" during the fall. But this is not enough; it does not explain the situation. For instance, imagine a pound weight of iron raised from the surface of the earth, to a point near the moon, in a line joining the centres of the two bodies, the point being so chosen that the opposing attractions of the earth and the moon shall balance each other exactly. On the earth, the piece of iron had "potential energy of position," because it was capable of falling into a pit; but in its new position near the moon, this potential energy is not only augmented, but it has disappeared entirely. The piece of iron left free to move remains stationary; and yet we should have expended more than twenty million foot pounds of energy in overcoming the attraction of the earth and lifting the weight to its new position. This amount of energy would be sufficient to impart to the piece a velocity more than ten times greater

than that of the swiftest cannon ball, or, if converted into heat, it would be many times more than sufficient to raise it to dazzling incandescence and then vapourise it! Now in lifting the piece, this large amount of energy has disappeared entirely. We cannot believe that the whole or any part of it has been annihilated ; it must in some form be resident somewhere. No one will contend that this energy is resident in any form in the cold motionless piece of iron. It must be believed that it was absorbed by and is now resident in the ether through which the body was raised. Conversely a falling body must acquire its energy from the ether through which it falls. This is the fundamental idea to which the reader's attention is invited. Faraday saw it long ago, and others have appreciated it more clearly since his time.

This view implies that the ether is endowed with very great intrinsic energy in some form. Many men of science now hold that the ether is so endowed, and that the amount of this intrinsic energy is enormous Sir Oliver Lodge says "All potential energy exists in the ether." Sir J. J. Thomson says, "All kinetic energy is kinetic energy of the ether." The etherial energy involved in gravitation should be kinetic rather than potential, the latter involving stress or strain. No other theory but the mechanical will account for the energy acquired by a falling body.

Let us assume then that the ether is endowed with very great kinetic energy normally uniform in distribution. Kinetic energy implies motion in something possessed of inertia. Now inertia is a fundamental attribute of the ether. J. J. Thomson holds that all inertia is inertia of the ether. The ether is highly elastic also, which, with its inertia, enables it to possess kinetic energy in wave form as exemplified in radiation. By the term wave we mean progressive motion, locally periodic ; doubtless the ether as a whole is stationary. Hence we may consider the kinetic energy of the ether as consisting in ether waves of some kind. These waves, vast in aggregate energy, eternal in persistence, without finite source or destination, are imagined

as being propagated in straight lines in all conceiveable directions. Any kind of waves capable of exerting motive action on the atoms or molecules of matter will fulfil the requirements; but we shall first consider the transverse electromagnetic waves of radiation which are so well known.

Of course these intrinsic ether waves, at present known to us as radiation, cannot be of any frequency, because then all bodies would become heated. But we can imagine them of such extremely low frequency that the molocules or atoms of matter cannot respond to them, cannot vibrate in unison with them. Hence no conversion of the ether's energy directly into heat can take place in the ordinary way. We are familiar with the dissipation or degeneration of the higher forms of energy into lower degrees. As is well-known, it is only through this running down of natural energy that we are enabled to utilise some of it. Lord Kelvin called this function of energy "motivity," and said that the motivity of the Universe tends to zero. We know that ordinary radiation waves in the ether persist indefinitely, and without change of frequency or direction, until they encounter matter, when they are absorbed and converted into heat, only to be radiated again usually in longer waves, to some colder body. This degradation continues until we can no longer follow it. The ultimate destination of this wave energy is that vast reservoir of kinetic energy intrinsic to the ether. We may liken the waves of radiant energy, which we apprehend as light and heat, to wind-ripples on the surface of water, which continually degenerate in wave frequency, until they are absorbed into and become a part of the mighty swell of the Ocean.

Thus we may regard the ether's intrinsic energy as energy in its lowest form Kelvin's zero of "motivity." But fortunately we get some of this energy back in available form in several ways, as for instance, when a falling body is arrested and develops heat. When two gigantic astronomical bodies collide under the influence of gravitation, as some times happens, we witness in far distant space the

birth of a nebula. The inconceivably vast amount of heat developed by the collision, converts both bodies into luminous vapour, which expands with incredible rapidity into the nebulous cloud. This heat energy must in course of time degenerate back into the ether whence it came. We may picture the stupendous result of the collision as only a local splash in the ether's vast ocean of energy.

We have thus considered that the ether possesses a vast amount of intrinsic kinetic energy in wave form of some kind, that the waves are propagated in straight lines in all directions, and that this energy is distributed uniformly throughout the Universe, except in so far as the distribution is disturbed by the presence of matter. Let us see how this gives us a clue to the mechanism of gravitation Imagine a spherical enclosure having uniformly luminous walls, every point on their surface radiating light in all internal directions. Now consider a small opaque spherical particle hanging in the centre of such an enclosure. This particle will cast a shadow of itself, extending to the confines of the space, however large the latter may be. We may not perceive the shadow, but we know it is there. The body will soon acquire the temperature of its surroundings, and radiate as much energy as it receives; but we shall consider here only the high frequency light energy. We know that light waves exert pressure upon bodies; but this being the same in all directions, there will be no tendency towards translatory motion on the part of the body. Again if we introduce another similar body at some distance from the first, it will also cast a shadow Each body will lie within the shadow of the other That is to say, each body will be partially shielded by the other from the ether waves coming from that direction Hence the light pressure will be less on that side of each body which faces towards the other, than on the side which is turned away; and thus they will be urged towards each other by the excess of pressure on the side turned away. This excess will vary with the inverse square of the distance between the centres of the two bodies.

Of course, the ether waves concerned in gravitation cannot be like the light waves; because the pressure due to the latter is superficial and does not reach molecules much below the surface. But if we substitute for these short waves of light, very powerful waves of great length and slow frequency, our purpose will be served; because they will pass freely through all bodies bathing the interior molecules as effectively as those on the surface. Thus each molecule or unit of a gravitating body will have its own shadow; and the gravitative force acting on the body will vary directly as the sum of its units. The shadow implies that the atom has caused in its neighbourhood a diminution in the ether's energy. This subtracted energy resides in the atom as kinetic energy. The collective atoms of matter are buffeted about in every direction by the ether waves in which they are entangled, like a suspended precipitate in turbulent water. Evidently, the component of motion of each atom, lying in the direction of the attracting body, will be the greatest; because the waves from that direction, being partially intercepted by the attracting body, are weakest; and the atom will be pushed in that direction by the superior waves behind it. If the atom is free to fall, it will continually gain more energy from the stronger waves behind, than it restores to the weaker waves in front. Thus gravitation becomes a push towards the attracting body, and not a pull, as we ordinarily take it to be!

We have seen that any kind of ether waves capable of imparting motion to the atoms of matter will serve. They may be taken to be of the character of an electronic disturbance in the ether, a view which tries to show that an electron is a basic unit present everywhere in the Universe. To sum up, then, the whole of Nature can be mechanically interpreted. Phenomena like the Brownian movement and radioactive transformations, cannot otherwise be explained. In thermodynamics, chemistry and the theory of electrons the mechanical interpretation is firmly intrenched. The total dismissal of ether from our field is to a certain extent

untenable, and the possibility of a complete explanation of Nature without it is doubtful. However we cannot venture to say that this is the last word on the matter. The rule of endeavour, wait, and see must apply.

D. B. DEODHAR.

Economic Reconstruction.

"Human Will is Human Destiny"—Lloyd George.

Europe is in tremors: she is walking straight to a chasm.

The grim, titanic war of civilization against the forces of a brutal and despotic militarism has long come to an end. The great cataclysm—the greatest war in human history—is over and the inherited and accumulated wrongs of ages under which Humanity has groaned and travailed are now crying aloud for a remedy. Humanity's need is Humanity's claim and the world is waiting expectantly for the last four years to see how these age-long wrongs are going to be righted.

The war has a lot to answer for and the relief for which every soul in the world is looking so anxiously is not yet in sight and is unduly long in coming. It was difficult to win the war. It seems, it has been more difficult to win peace.

The object of the present paper is to attempt a brief review of the present economic situation of the world in order to understand correctly what is it that ails the world and the lines on which a lasting and effective remedy may be sought. The economic situation of the world has admittedly gone *de route* altogether. What is more, the difficulties of the situation are getting worse every day. Unless the situation is quickly handled in a bold and statesmanlike way, the economic condition of the world will get completely out of hand. The worst will happen and the world will go to pieces. These are strong words, but, if the conditions remain unaltered, events will justify the remarks. As Lord Morley once expressed it: "It is meddling wrongly with economic things which goes to the very life, to the very heart, to the very core of national

existence." Economic laws will not be cheated and the economic situation of every country in the world has shaped itself so awkwardly, as a result of the war, that it now threatens to engulf every other thing which Humanity holds dear and for which it would be prepared to pay any price. Prompt and permanent solution of the problems facing us is imminently necessary. It is fervently hoped that Statesmanship—and, much more than Statesmanship, Goodwill—have not gone bankrupt yet and the world will very soon find real and lasting peace. The world is crying aloud for it. God grant that it may come soon! In order to understand the position properly, we will, first of all, make a rapid survey of the present economic situation of the world. The chief features of that situation may be considered and classified under the following broad heads :—

(A) The Currency Situation.

The war was essentially a war of finance and it was quite clearly recognized from the very outset that the longest purse would win the war. The cost to all the belligerents in all the theatres of the war came to about £40,000,000 a day. To carry on such a war for four and a half years meant finance on a colossal scale—a scale very much beyond the capacity of even the richest countries of the world. And yet the war had to be carried on. To every country it appeared as if two—and only two—courses were open—Victory or Death. There was absolutely no other alternative. In this supreme question of life and death, no sacrifice was too great, no method could be either too sacred or too low for adoption. Money must be found to carry on the war and if legitimate methods failed to bring enough money for the purpose, the Governments must stoop to any means to win the war. And thus was introduced the most reckless system of finance in all countries. The printing press was invoked for aid in the work of creating new money. An unlimited supply of paper money could be—and, as a matter of fact, was—quickly pro-

duced to finance the war. In addition to this, Governments created large credits with the banks to get more money. There was an abnormal expansion of artificial currency in all countries without any corresponding increase—in some cases, with a positive reduction—in their real wealth or money-work upon which its exchange value depends. Such an artificial and unlimited inflation of currency does nothing. Temporarily it may produce some relief to the limited few who gain by it but, ultimately, it adds nothing to the total and real purchasing power of the country "so that its effect must be to reduce the purchasing power of each unit of the currency. It is in fact a form of debasing the currency."* This debauchery of credit was nothing but a forced loan raised by inconvertible paper money and of all kinds of forced loans this was the worst. All the belligerent countries were responsible for such inflation and in spite of the protests of Mr. Lloyd George who assured the House of Commons that England had not moved in the "quicksands of inflation" on which Europe was going to pieces, there is clear and ample evidence† that even England was guilty of such inflation, though, it must be said to her credit, she was the first in her attempts to rehabilitate her currency system.

The result of all this gamble was quick and sure to come. It was impossible to maintain a pure currency system on such terms and all the currency systems were completely broken. There was a steady depreciation of all currencies and there was a general decline in the purchasing power of money. Such a continued depreciation was practically equivalent to repudiation pure and simple. The gold standards which maintained a sound economic interrelation between the different currency systems of the world had to be given up, one by one, and were substituted by a system of undiluted paper money which had no relation whatever either to gold on the one hand or to the paper money of other countries on the other. The new paper standards

* Report, International Financial Conference, Brussels, (1920), Vol I, p. 17.

† Report, Cunliffe Committee.

were completely independent of each other and each went its own way. Foreign exchanges experienced sensational shocks and the collapse of the German mark is one of the gravest tragedies in the economic life of Germany and the world. Legitimate trade and commerce could not possibly thrive under such sensational fluctuations of exchange and were replaced by pure speculation and gambling. Operators on the exchanges made large sums of money while legitimate trade was seriously hampered and reduced. The whole situation, as it is to-day, has been ably summarised in an official Report as follows :—

"(1) *All* currencies have depreciated in terms of commodities.

(2) *Most* currencies have depreciated in terms of gold.

(3) *Gold* itself has depreciated in terms of commodities.

(4) In certain cases (*e.g.* Germany) there is a great disparity between the internal and external commodity values of the currency.

(5) Everywhere currency and exchange disorder is hampering trade and retarding reconstruction. In some countries it is a prime factor amongst those which are causing a breakdown of the economic and social system." *

Such then is the grave condition of the currency systems of the world. We will now proceed to the next feature of the world-situation.

(B) Restricted Production.

Simultaneously with the abnormal increase in the currencies of the world, there has been an enormous decrease in the supply of commodities. And the reasons for it are clear enough. Europe is still an armed camp and though the Great War has ended, it has been replaced by a number of minor local wars in various parts of Europe and Asia. Asia Minor, the Balkans, Russia, Asiatic Russia are all of them

* "Currencies after the War" published by the League of Nations, pp. viii—ix.

theatres of war. All this means, apart from increased military expenses and the waste of unproductive labour, an unsettled state of these countries, a state of insecurity in which no production can possibly thrive. The armies engaged in these little wars represent so many men withdrawn from actual productive work, who, if there had been no wars, would have been engaged in augmenting the material resources and heritage of mankind. Russia as a productive unit is long out of action. "Universal conscription is a conspicuous example of loss to industry."* "The waste of skilled labour is enormous."† The best period of manhood is unproductivly spent in destroying human life (which means a second and a great loss to industry), creating smoke and living on the produce of other men's labour. Labour and capital which are now more urgently required for the production of the vital necessities of life are still diverted in large measures for the production of the munitions of war. To add to all this, there is the general unrest in all countries—the legacy of a great war—which is retarding production. Capital and Labour have begun to fight each other in a way that augurs ill for both and for the rest of the world. Strikes and lockouts have become the order of the day, leading generally to riots and bloodshed. The defiant shouts of Jim Larkin are still ringing in our ears. Ben Tillet became a popular hero. Labour is king and it now feels its powers and uses them against the capitalistic organization of the world. The ordinary workman has become a power in the land. "These people," wrote Ben Tillet "are so insignificant, yet they can stop all the work of the country. They can make a refuse heap of a navy, can make derelict the most up-to-date... factory, can stop the swift-speeding locomotive and can stay the wheels of civilization . . . More than a million of the principal workers of the country on strike ! What a world of meaning there is in such words!" It is an ominous prophecy. Who knows even this may not happen ?

* Pigou—The Political Economy of War.

† Bastable—Public Finance, p. 66.

Besides these, there are several other causes of arrested production. The delay in the solution of the German Reparation question, the sensational breakdown in the *mark* and the *krone* and the other exchanges of the world, the continual threats of France to occupy some of the most productive parts of Germany, the general spread of Bolshevist doctrines throughout the world, the revolt of the proletariat against the Capitalist in every country of the world—these and other causes have combined to make about half the world produce less than it consumes.* No wonder there is so much economic unrest in the world !

We next pass on to the third feature of the world—situation which is only a consequence of the two factors we have mentioned above.

(*C*) *Enormous Rise in Prices.*

"Money is what money does"—this is how Walker defined money. Thus money has a certain amount of work to do—and the chief money-work consists in facilitating the exchange of commodities and moving them from hand to hand. This exchange of commodities includes every kind and variety of trade—from the local trade of the small village to the international trades of the whole world. Thus the money-work depends chiefly on two things, *viz.*, the total volume of commodities and the rapidity and the range of their circulation. Let us now see what was the result of the war. Before the war, there was a certain amount of total output of commodities in the world and there was a certain amount of money-supply to do the necessary money-work for them. A fair and normal equation of exchange had been established and prices were more or less stable.

Then followed the war measures. First of all, the supply of currency was enormously increased as we have

* Report, International Financial Conference, Brussels, 1920, p. 6.

explained above. Even if the world's output of commodities had remained as before, *i. e.*, had not been reduced—even then, the result would have been a far greater supply of money in the world for the same amount of output than before. This, by itself, would certainly have led to a decline in the value of money and therefore to a rise in prices. But this was not all. After the inflation of currency, came the reduction in output mentioned above. Thus two powerful causes operated in the same way, and, before this double-barrel gun, prices began to soar. The process, though gradual, was quite logical. The supply of currency was first increased far in excess of the money-work that was needed on the basis of the world's output of commodities. Then the output was also enormously reduced. Thus the gap between the supply of money and the money-work (based on the total volume of production) that it had to do became very wide and prices began to soar. The inflation of currency was by itself a very bad thing, but its evil effects might have been minimised if it had been followed by a simultaneous increase in the volume of production. That was about the only way to provide the inflated currency with more work and to prevent it from doing any mischief. But the world was attacked by a strange myopia and, for the moment, it forgot that real wealth, and therefore, welfare, consisted not in more money but in a greater volume of production. The manufacture of unlimited credit and artificial currency led to an excessive rise in prices. No doubt, there were other reasons for the rise in prices, *e. g.*, the reduction in the mercantile marine due to war-service and submarines leading to higher transport charges, restrictions on imports and other impediments imposed on free trade in all countries, reduced output of labour combined with a phenomenal rise in wages and increased labour costs. But all these reasons were of minor importance in comparison with the two chief reasons, *viz.*, the inflation of currency and the reduction in output. A study of the figures below will reveal a remarkable correlation between the expansion of currency and the rise in prices:—

*Relation between inflation and prices.**

	Exact period of calculation. 1919.	Currency of all kinds. 1913=100.	Wholesale prices. 1913=100.	Retail food prices 1914=100.
United States .	May	173	206	181
Japan .	May .	223	214	. .
Switzerland	June ..	230		250
Denmark ..	July ..	240	.	212
United Kingdom ..	August	244	257	217
Netherlands ..	September .	270	. .	203
Sweden .	April	275	339	336
Norway ..	May .	305	.	271
France ..	June	365	330	329
Italy .	April	440	329	281

The correlation is too clear to require any further explanation.

The result of this inflation of prices is quite clear throughout the world. It is a form of indirect and concealed taxation. There is actual starvation in the poorer families throughout the world. The middle classes—the backbone of every country—find it more and more difficult to make the two ends meet. The most heart-rending situation prevails in Austria and Germany where recent travellers† find appalling destitution and unlimited misery. Children are going without milk. Old people are perishing from slow starvation. In Russia and Austria, millions of God's children are in the grip of a devastating famine from which only death can relieve them. In Austria the situation is so critical that even respectable women and young girls have stooped to the most desperate and the most shocking means

* Currencies after the War (League of Nations) p. 252.
† *Vide* Fortnightly Review, July 1922, p 27

in order to save their little children and themselves from the horrors of prolonged starvation.* Austria is dying and, like Russia, has probably passed beyond the reach of aid. Germany is following the same way. Where will it all end? Europe is running on an inclined plane. She is walking straight to a chasm while her politicians have just finished their table talks at the 15th International Conference since the Treaty of Versailles which was to have brought in the Millennium. If one thing is most certain at present, it is this, that unless the present situation is radically and quickly altered, *the future is all red.* The proletariat throughout the world, unable to support the extremely high cost of living is preparing for a revolt that will shake the world. Europe is sitting on the edge of a precipice. The echoes of Bolshevism are now heard far and wide. Who can say how and where it will all end?

(D) Increased Taxation.

The war led to an abnormal increase in the expenditure of all countries. This was due to a variety of causes, *viz.*

Firstly, it was due to the direct military and naval charges on account of the war which had to be carried on not in one localised area but practically throughout the whole world.

Secondly, the war led to a very great increase in the functions of all Governments. Governments had to take charge of a wide variety of new national affairs so that these increased functions of Governments led to abnormal increase of expenditure. The State, in addition to its own normal duties of protecting life and property and maintaining peace had to do a lot of other things as well. If there was no employment, the State had to provide for it. If there was an inadequate food supply or if it was not properly distributed, the State had to undertake control of food by commandering of stocks and by rationing of

* Mrs. C. N. Williamson in the "Sunday Times."

consumers under strict rules of priorities. If prices were high, the State had to undertake control of prices. If adequate transport facilities were not forthcoming, the State had to provide for more wagons. If there was a shortage of house accommodation, the State had to provide for it. If the supply of vital things were not forthcoming, the State had to interfere and compel producers to make essential commodities in place of luxury and other non-vital articles. For purposes of war finance, the State had to control imports, exports, and even foreign investments of the countries. In addition to all this, the State had to provide for a comprehensive scheme of social insurance which included a lot of things, *e.g.*, Workmen's Compensation, Old-age Pensions, National and Health Insurance, Sickness and Invalidity Insurance, Labour Exchanges, Unemployment Insurance, etc. All these meant an unusual expansion of the orbit of the State and naturally it meant more expense.

Thirdly, there was, during the war, a very great increase in the number of new offices and posts in all countries of the world.

Fourthly, in all countries salaries of public servants were increased on a very liberal scale during and after the war. *

Fifthly, there was a large leakage in the collection of revenue—England to-day has about £100,000,000 in uncollected taxes.

Sixthly, there was enormous waste in public expenditure.* A spirit of levity in finance led to an idea that expenses need not matter in the work of winning the war. "Hang the expense and get on with the war." Equally unfortunate was Mr. Balfour's remark that it was the business of the admirals and generals to win victories and not to save expense—as if the same results could not be obtained at a much smaller cost in blood and treasure.

* *Vide* Reports of the Committee on National Expenditure (Geddes Committee)· First Report (Cmd 1581) Second Report (Cmd 1582) Third Report (Cmd. 1589). The Committee gives actual illustrations of enormous wastes.

Large amounts were spent without even the sanction of Parliament and extremely valuable national stores—warships, aeroplanes, military and naval supplies—were given away, without any return or sanction whatever.*

Lastly, though the War came to an end, it was replaced by a number of small local wars in all parts of the world and this led to a permanently increased military establishments. England at present has large commitments in Ireland, Egypt, India, Hong Kong, Silesia, Constantinople, Palestine, Mesopotamia, the Balkans, and lastly—the Rhine. All these lead to increased military charges. Further, the great empires of Europe have been replaced by a number of little states. Eleven of them have *no* access to the sea and five of them have access only to the Black Sea. These sixteen states will always try to break out to the sea in any way they can.† For this object, each of them has an army—large or small—and the combined armies of these little states exceed in strength the total armies of the old empires. Thus Europe has buried one of her old optical illusions. Before the war it was said that only big empires made big armies but now it is found out that small empires make even bigger armies.

These and other similar causes have combined to increase the public expenditure in all countries and have led to a crushing increase of taxation and public debts everywhere. A few figures will illustrate it best. England's budgets in 1911-12 and—a decade later—in 1921-22-four years after the War-reveal the following figures:—

	1911-12.	1921-22‡
Revenue ...	£185,090,000	£1,216,000,000
Expenditure ...	£178,545,000	£1,136,000,000

In 1918-19 (war year) the expenditure totalled approximately £3,000,000,000.

* Third Report of the Committee on Public Accounts (House of Commons).

† *Vide* Speech of the Secretary for War (Sir L. Worthington Evans) in introducing the Army Estimates in the House of Commons, March 1922.

‡ House of Commons, Paper 77 of 1922.

(E) Financial Deficits.

As a result of the facts mentioned above, practically every country is running on deficits. Three out of every four of the countries represented at the Brussels Conference and 11 out of 12 of the European countries ran on deficits * In India our deficits were as follows :—

1918-19— 6 crores.	1919-20—24 crores.
1920-21—26 crores.	1921-22—34 crores.
	Total 90 „ (in 4 years).

"The country which accepts the policy of budget deficits is treading the slippery path which leads to general ruin: to escape from that path no sacrifice is too great."†

(F) National Debts.

Closely allied to the above is the huge growth of National Debts in recent years. The total external debts of the European belligerents converted into dollars at par stand thus ‡ :—

1913	... $ 17,000,000,000
1920	... $ 155,000,000,000

and the *increase* of public debt per head of the population since the beginning of the war has been as follows§ : —

United States	... £ 55-10*s*.
United Kingdom	... £ 157-10*s*.
Italy ...	... £ 73
France ...	... £ 114-8*s*.

(Figures for Germany are not available).

(G) Inter-Allied and Reparation Debts.

The question of Inter-allied and Reparation Debts is one of the most difficult problems of the world at the present

* Report, International Financial Conference, Brussels 1920.

† *Ibid* page 13.

‡ *Ibid* page 4.

§ Currencies after the War (League of Nations) p. 254.

day. There are two parts of the question and they are closely bound up. They are as follows :—

(1) In order to prosecute the war, France, Belgium, Italy, and other countries borrowed heavily—at first from England and later on from America. But America, to some extent, declined to lend money to the other Allies except on the security of England so that a large part of the British debt to America was incurred on behalf of France, Italy, and Belgium. The principal war debts owing to England in July 1921 stood thus :—

France	...	£ 557,000,000	
Russia	...	£ 561,000,000	
Italy	....	£ 476,000,000	
Belgium	...	£ 103,000,000	These two countries are not charged with interest
Serbia	...	£ 22,000,000	

and the total war debts owing to England at the same time reached the enormous figure ot £ 1,806,000,000.

On the other hand, the war debts owing to the United States at the same time were as follows :—

	(Figures in round numbers).
Belgium ...	... $ 409,000,000
France ...	... $ 3,634,000,000
Great Britain	... $ 4,573,000,000
Italy ...	... $ 1,809,000,000
Poland ...	... $ 135,000,000
Russia ...	... $ 211,000,000

Total of all such debts amounted to $ 11,000,000,000

(2) The Allies had won the war and they imposed their own terms on Germany and her allies which included very large amounts by way of reparations and indemnities. The Treaty of Versailles was signed on June 28, 1919. By Article 232, Germany undertook to pay for damage done and by Article 233 the Reparation Commission was set up to assess the damages, to fix the amount of the Reparation Debt and to arrange for its discharge within 30 years from May 1, 1921. Article 235 demanded £ 1,000,000,000, as a preliminary payment before May 1, 1921.

From 1919 to the present day, various conferences have been held on this question—the last one, the London Conference, having just (August 1922) broken up without a settlement.

The Reparation claimed is on account of the following items :—

(1) Damage to civilian life and property in all the countries, especially in the war areas, by acts of enemy Government—including air raids, naval bombardments, submarines, mines, etc.

(2) Compensation for improper treatment of interned civilians.

(3) Compensation for loot of food, raw materials, live-stock, machinery, timber, household property, etc.

(4) Repayments of fines and requisitions levied on towns and municipalities.

(5) Compensation for nationals deported or compelled to do forced labour.

These are legitimate items of indemnity, but, in addition to these, there were some other charges of a questionable character which were also imposed on the enemies, *e.g.*:—

(*a*) Expenses of Relief Commissions to provide food and clothing to civilian French population in war areas.

(*b*) War expenses of the Allies arising out of pensions and separation allowances. Professor Keynes, whose two books on this question have produced the greatest sensation in the political world and have contributed very largely to the saner views on the part of England at the last London Conference, has argued that claims on this account cannot be justified on any moral or legal consideration whatever.*

(*c*) Germany is also made liable to pay all costs of the Armies of occupation for 15 years *after* peace is signed. As Keynes points out† there is nothing in the Treaty to limit the size of the armies so that France could easily quarter

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* Keynes—Economic Consequences of the Peace, Ch. 5.

† *Ibid* p. 169.

her whole normal standing army in the occupied area and thus shift the charge for her military budget on Germany.

The total amount to be recovered from Germany as indemnity has been variously estimated. Professor Keynes estimates it, on the basis of the Allies' demands, at £8,000,000,000 while Mons. Klotz put it* at £15,000,000,000. Whatever may be the total amount that may be found ultimately recoverable from Germany, the Allies started with a determination to make a remorseless levy on German wealth and capital to satisfy their utmost demands. "Germany must pay the costs of the war up to the limit of her capacity† " and Sir Eric Geddes in his speech at the Guildhall at Cambridge, surpassed everybody by his remarks :—

"I will squeeze her until you can hear the pips squeak... I would strip Germany as she had stripped Belgium."

It is lucky that so far as England is concerned there has recently been a return to sanity on this question. There is a very welcome change of heart. But before we turn to it, we must explain another intermediate step.

America has suddenly asked England for repayment of her loans amounting to £850,000,000. This compelled England to ask her allies to repay the loans due to her from them. No doubt, America is exercising her undoubted *legal* right but, as it is pointed out, "it cannot be right that one partner in a common enterprise should recover all she had lent and that another while recovering nothing, should be required to repay all she had borrowed, especially when a large part of the British debt to America was incurred on behalf of France, Italy, and Belgium‡"

Thus the link is complete. America wants England to repay. England therefore wants France to repay. France therefore insists on realising the last centime by way of reparations from Germany, while Germany with her entire economic system is threatened with ruin under the appalling

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* Speech, French Chamber of Deputies, September 15, 1919.
† Lloyd George—Newcastle, November 29, 1918.
‡ Earl of Balfour's Note to the Allies (August 1922).

burdens imposed upon her. German marks have just gone down to 9,000 to the pound sterling.

France talks loudly of economic sanctions and guarantees against Germany. Keynes has beautifully explained the real position of France. She realises that the last war was really a trial of economic strength. The longest purse had won the war. France could win the war *only with the aid of England and America.* But this war is not the *last* war and more wars would soon be coming. Who knows that in the next war she will again have the help of England and America? German population was increasing while that of France was going down. German trade and commerce, her industries and manufactures—all these will combine to make Germany a powerful enemy again. Germany will wait until she is able to draw the sword again. France is determined that this future *Revanche* by Germany must be prevented. Hence the necessity of guarantees. This really explains the French attitude that the entire economic and industrial life of Germany must be crushed. By loss of territory, population, and economic resources Germany must be bled until she is rendered powerless to start again. Hence she must be compelled to pay an enormous amount by way of reparations and she must pay it in full—"not one centime less"*

But let us for one moment see *how* Germany can pay. She can only pay in one or more of the following ways:—

(*a*) by services,
(*b*) by gold, or
(*c*) by goods.

There is no other way except these. Let us consider each of these methods.

(*a*) So far as services are concerned, it is of no avail to England and, as for France, there are two grave difficulties *viz*:—

(1) It will only accentuate the keen unemployment problem in her own country; and

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* M. Briand at the Cannes Conference, January 1922.

(2) By forcing German labourers to work in France, we might be preparing the way for the re-introduction of a system akin to slave labour. There is also the danger of such labour taking up a militant attitude by strikes and other irritating methods. It will end in France requiring another army to make them work properly.

(*b*) By gold—The total amount of gold in Germany is now about 1 % of the paper currency. To take even that away would mean a total collapse of the mark. It will only plunge Europe (and with it, of course, France) in total ruin.

(*c*) By goods, *i. e.*, by exports. But here more serious difficulties crop up *e. g.*:—

(1) If Germany has to pay her whole debt by her surplus exports, she has not got enough surplus to export. This is quite natural in a country after four years of grim war during which it was subjected to the most rigorous economic blockade. *Even if Germany made no imports and the Allies seized all her exports*, it would not go far to meet the reparation debts.

(2) But granting, for the sake of argument, that the German labourers can be compelled to produce in larger quantities so as to swell the exports—the only and the inevitable result will be that it will enable Germany to produce at a cheaper cost the very goods which England and France now manufacture, and *it will enable Germany to undersell England and France not only in their home markets but in every other market of the world.* Thus England and France may insist upon the payment of the debts due to them under threats of occupation and blockade, but they will soon find that when Germany really begins to pay them, their own vast export trades (including the invisible exports)—which in the case of England alone runs to £1,100,000,000 a year—will be threatened and imperilled. They will get their shares of the indemnity no doubt, but they will lose their vast export trades. Well may we ask then, who gains ?—the Allies or Germany ? Already the English miners have protested against the export of German reparation coal and when the "*Times*" suggested that repara-

tion might take the shape of engineering construction in England by the Germans, the Engineering Trades immediately entered the most emphatic protests. The Paris Chamber of Commerce has also protested that the Wiesbaden agreement, though offering certain financial advantages, will increase the disabilities of the French industries, diminish French production, and offer a premium on German imports. Thus, the net result comes to this: Germany must pay and yet she must not be allowed to pay in the only way she can.

(3) Next there is the difficulty raised by Tariff policies. The third of President Wilson's Fourteen points advocated the removal of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions. The ideals of Wilsonism have long been dead. They only need a decent burial. In spite of all tall talk, almost every country is increasing her tariffs and the worst offender in this respect is America—the original home of the Fourteen points. The Senate there has just passed the new American Tariff Bill with some of the highest duties in the history of the United States on record.

The Brussels International Conference recommended that "commerce should as soon as possible be freed from control and impediments to international trade be removed."* But what is the result? The peace treaty created a number of small states who have received as a legacy of the war extremely depreciated currencies. Each of them is maintaining a small army. Their fiscal system is upset. They have to spend heavily on food reliefs, armaments, wars, etc. With them an increase in tariffs is the easiest way to restore financial equilibrium. Even England has gone the same way, and the recently passed Safeguarding of Industries Act is nothing but an attempt to keep out German goods.

Now, the two policies are plainly inconsistent and it seems the Allies do not know their own minds. They want Germany to pay. Germany can pay only in goods. Yet they will shut out German goods by high tariffs while if they allow German goods to come in freely, it will mean the loss

* Report, Brussels International Financial Conference, p. 19.

of their own home and export trades. This then is the Allies' dilemma—there is no escape from it. The two policies of maximum reparation and high tariffs are inconsistent and mutually destructive. Unless you have freedom of trade you cannot recover indemnities. If you have freedom of trade your own trade is threatened. The Allies are in a vicious circle. How will they get out of it?

Lastly, comes the question of Germany's capacity to pay. Can she really pay all that she is asked to? This is a question very difficult to answer but a consensus of opinions now agree that Germany is bankrupt and she cannot really pay so much. This explains the change of heart in England on this question. Keynes takes a moderate view and argues that Germany cannot pay all that is demanded of her. American opinions are also moving towards the same view* and it has been pointed out that even Great Britain—the richest country in the world—in the boom year of 1920 could pay only a third of the demands imposed on Germany. Germany has not got enough of exportable surplus. The sequestration of German property abroad is a "less gain to the Allies than a loss to Germany since the value of such property depends on a German organization of which it is only a part." Besides it is very difficult to carry out and, once adopted, it will lead to financial chaos. Payment by means of reparation bonds is equally hopeless because they cannot be marketed in the foreign countries at any reasonable price. How then can Germany really pay so as not at the same time to injure the Allies? Who will give the answer?

Possible Remedies.

We have attempted, so far, to give a detail account of the chief features of the present world-situation. We will now proceed to indicate some of the remedies which may be applied in order to save the situation and to save the social and economic life of the whole world thereby. We have already

* "America and the Balance Sheet of Europe"—Bass and Moulton (New York).

discussed the factors governing each item in detail. Our treatment of the remedies can therefore be very brief.

(1) First and foremost, what the world needs to-day is Peace—real Peace—throughout the world. The small local wars must cease. The occasional rattling of the swords across the Rhine must cease. The war atmosphere and the war preparations are fatal to the economic recovery of the world. Real peace will reduce military charges, restore financial equilibrium in all budgets, wipe away the deficits, reduce taxation, demobilise and set free a large number of industrial workers who will increase the total production of the world and thus help to lower prices and bring relief to the millions of poor people in all parts of the world. The League of Nations, the Washington Conference and similar international understandings must step in and recover the world from the madness of modern militarism.

(2) Currency inflation must cease and cease at once. Without this all other efforts will be useless. Profiteering legislation or law-made prices cannot really control prices. The real solution lies in the stabilization of the currency. With inflated currency systems, all Governments are in a "vicious spiral." Currency is inflated. Prices rise. To cope with it more artificial currency is created and thus the game goes on. The whole economic life of the world has been reduced to a gamble.

Deflation is necessary *but it cannot be suddenly done.* A sudden deflation will produce grave consequences. But some of the ways *suggested* by various writers to bring about the desired deflation may be briefly mentioned here:—

(*a*) Heavy taxation—which will yield to the State more than it really needs. The State can then destroy the surplus. The monetary units will thus be reduced. But it will be very difficult to pass a high taxation budget with such avowed objects in any democratic assembly. In this connection we may note that the Indian Budget of 1922-23 provides for the cancellation of notes to the value of 33 crores of rupees.

(*b*) A very high Bank rate and other restrictions on the expansion of credit by Banks. But though it may bring down prices it will depress trade and industry.

(*c*) Devaluation of the currency by making the paper money convertible into a smaller quantity of gold than before. It is a short-cut attempt to return to parity.*

(*d*) Dr. Cannan suggests that the paper pounds and ten shillings—dumped upon the country by "profiteering of the Treasury" should be burnt. The same suggestion is also made by Messrs. Bass and Moulton † who prefer "destruction in carload lots" of these paper currencies whose depreciation is already a practical repudiation.

(*e*) State economy so as to stop deficits in the budgets. The gap between revenue and expenditure must be closed and the states must cease to manufacture new money.

(*f*) Increased production—so as to provide the inflated currency with increased money-work.

(*g*) The earliest possible return to the gold standard. This will take a long time, but it is vitally necessary. It is useless to try to fix the ratio of the existing paper currencies to their normal gold value.

(3) Restoration of financial equilibrium so as to stop living on debts and deficits. This can be done by the following methods:—

(*a*) *Economy*—Economy is in itself a great income. Military expenditure ought to be reduced at once. Government must refuse to incur fresh expenditure on experimental palliatives to meet the present situation—which far from helping only add to the troubles. Ordinary expenditures, including debt service, must be met out of ordinary revenue. Public opinion must be educated and in order to do it—

(*b*) "Governments should abandon all uneconomical and artificial measures which conceal from the people the true economic situation"‡ *e.g.*, the artificial cheapening of

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* For a detail treatment of this plan *vide* Pigou—The Political Economy of War.

† America and the Balance Sheet of Europe (New York)

‡ Brussels Conference, p. 14.

food, coal, etc., by selling them below cost price, the provision of unemployment doles * which demoralise industry, the maintenance of railway fares and postal rates which do not cover cost of service, etc.

(*c*) All wastes must be vigorously avoided and expenditure without sanction must not be permitted. Full effect should be given to the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committees.

(*d*) Revenue ought to be increased by fresh taxation. In this connection a capital levy or a tax on the increase of war wealth may be considered.†

(4) Back to Free Trade—This is very important as without it there is no chance of prices coming down. It would be a suicidal policy to keep the defeated enemies shut out from the world trade. Germany is really much greater than her geography and the world cannot afford to forget it.

(5) *Lastly*, and this is the most important thing—all inter-allied debts should be cancelled and the Reparation Debts must be reconsidered. "Unsettled questions have no pity for the repose of nations" and it is the greatest of such questions facing the world to-day. Leave it open and we open the floodgates of international troubles which may eventually lead to another war more dreadful than the last one. Or it may lead to even worse results. Germany—already bankrupt—may find the burden placed upon her, at the point of the bayonet, too much and not finding any chance of payment may become desperate. She is standing on the edge of a precipice. She may go down and take the world with her. She may join with Russia, turn Bolshevist, refuse to pay and repudiate her debts. The Genoa Conference is Nature's warning to the Allies. The Russian Memorandum of the 11th May last, presented to the Allies at Genoa is full of electric shocks. France, which is now dead against the Russian Revolutionary Government, is herself

* [Unemployment doles are conditional on idleness. A much better substitute would be subsidies on wages—*i.e.* on real work B. M.]

† *Vide* Pigou—Political Economy of War.

built on a Revolution and Europe still remembers the flames of revolution which France let loose on the world. The French Convention of the 22nd December 1792 proclaimed to the world that "*the Sovereignty of people is not bound by the treaties of tyrants.*" What if Germany and Austria join hands with Russia and re-ennunciate the same doctrine of popular sovereignty ? The one—and the only—alternative then left to the Allies would be an armed occupation of the enemy countries for an indefinite period. Are the Allies able to do it ? Are the Allies prepared to do it ? History has one answer to give. It will mean the end of Europe. It will not be the first instance of repudiation of national debts. The Allied Powers had shown the way. France was the first to do it in her Revolutionary regime and some of the American States did the same thing about the middle of the last century. As the Russian Memorandum presented to the Allies at Genoa forcibly pointed out: In accordance with the declaration of the French Convention of 1792 (quoted above) "revolutionary *France not only tore up the political treaties of the former regime with foreign countries but also repudiated her national debt.*"* The situation is too full of dangers. The future is all red. The proletariat in all countries are extremely restless and they seem to think as if the new Jerusalem would presently descend out of Heaven amidst the thunders of cannons and the music of the Marseillaise. At such a time as this, in a most critical period of human history, a historic gesture is necessary to avoid a historic catastrophe. Where can we look for it ? All the Powers in Europe are deeply committed. Is it too much to hope that Amercia will still lead ? The cancellation of the inter-allied debts is an attempt to redistribute the costs of war. It will increase the burden of those nations who lent most. "It is a sort of capital levy, but very roughly assessed," and as America and England lent most—it will practically mean that these two countries will have financed

* Papers relating to International Economic Conference, Genoa, April-May, 1922, Cd. 1667, pp. 42-3.

the greater part of the war. The case is not without precedents. England herself had cancelled nearly all her allied indebtedness after the Napoleonic Wars. It is now America's turn to save civilization. The war was America's war just as much as it was England's war or Belgium's war. She entered the war long *after* the sinking of the *Lusitania* to make the "world safe for democracy" and it is because of America that *the victims of the Lusitania had won the war.* The war-debts of Europe are "America's last hostage for a righteous peace.* It is up to America—and America alone, wonderfully rich and proverbially self reliant—to lift the world out of the vicious spiral. Russia has gone out of civilization. Germany is prostrate and we can almost hear the death agonies of Austria. Will the gramophone Governments in America and France precipitate the world-crisis by insisting on their "pound of flesh"? Compromise is the law of life and the one question the world is asking to-day is—what will France and America do? They have a tremendous responsibility before God and Man. Will they send Russia, Germany, and Austria to their doom or will they help them to stand again, to start again, to turn the corner, and to find their long shadows shrink?

The Allies had won the war. But who will win the Peace?

BHUJANGA BHUSAN MUKHERJEE.

* Friedman—International Finance and its Reorganization, (New York).

ALYOSHA AND ZOSSIMA

Introductory Note.—Dostoyeffski, perhaps the profoundest European artist of the nineteenth century, is certainly the most representative of all Russian writers. More truly than Pushkin or Gogol, or Turgenieff, more truly even than Tolstoi he is the faithful and profound interpreter of Russia and the Russians ; and to-day all vital schools of Russian literature, of whatever political or social tendency they may be, own him as the great master. Yet outside Russia he is comparatively little read. Perhaps he is too Russian or perhaps he is untranslatable. Both Tolstoi and Turgenieff have been admirably translated into French, but neither in French nor English is there a translation of Dostoyeffski that is at once faithful to the original and good idiomatic prose.

He walks awkwardly and uneasily even in the English dress given him by Constance Garnett, but her complete translation of the novels published by Messrs. Heinemann is in other respects so admirably conscientious and understanding that the student, who is unable to read the original Russian, may with confidence have recourse to it. One purpose of this essay in translation is to induce him to do so.

There is no better introduction to Dostoyeffski than that passage in *The Brothers Karamazoff* in which the dying Saint, Father Zossima, tells the story of his life. To that story has been prefaced a passage selected and compressed from early chapters in the book, but the translation of the story itself is the most faithful and idiomatic version of which the translator is capable.

I Alyosha.

Perhaps some of my readers imagine that my young man was a weedy, hysterical, mentally undeveloped consump-

tive dreamer. On the contrary Alyosha was a well set up, red cheeked, clear eyed, radiantly healthy boy of nineteen. He was, moreover, a very attractive looking fellow, tall and gracefully built, with dark brown hair, and with dark grey sparkling eyes set wide on a rather long oval shaped face of exceptional thoughtfulness and serenity.

Perhaps I shall be told that red cheeks are not incompatible with fanaticism and mysticism. Nevertheless my opinion is that Alyosha was rather an out and out rationalist. Of course in the monastery he believed implicitly in miracles but then I do not believe that miracles ever disturb the faith of the rationalist. The true rationalist will never be converted by a miracle but, if he once believe, he is bound by his very rationalism to admit the miraculous also

Or perhaps I shall be told that Alyosha was dull, immature, uneducated and so forth. That he was uneducated in the sense that he had not completed his school course is true but it would be quite wrong to call him dull or stupid. I simply repeat what I have already said. Alyosha entered the monastery because this course of action alone appealed to his imagination as the ideal way by which his soul could pass at once from darkness to light.

Alyosha possessed many of the characteristics of the young men of the last generation—in especial the native honesty that demands, seeks, and believes in the truth, then that eager whole-hearted energy of service that must have some work to do at once, and that readiness to sacrifice everything, even life itself, to its accomplishment. Unhappily many of these young men fail to understand that the sacrifice of life is often the easiest of all sacrifices and the sacrifice of say five or six years of their impetuous youth to a tedious apprenticeship of study that they may have strength tenfold to serve the truth and to accomplish the work they have set before themselves—that sacrifice is in many cases utterly beyond their strength.

The monastic path was never their path but Alyosha chose it with all their eager desire to accomplish something

immediately. No sooner had serious reflection convinced him of God and immortality than he instantly determined to live for immortality and to accept no compromise. In the same way had he decided that there is no God and no immortality he would forthwith have become an atheist and a socialist.

He simply could not have gone on living as before. It is written, "Give all that thou hast to the poor and follow Me, if thou would'st be perfect," therefore, argued Alyosha, "I cannot give two roubles instead of all and only go to church instead of 'following Him.'"

Perhaps his mother had brought him in her arms to our services and he still cherished a memory of the monastery. Perhaps the slanting rays of the setting sun falling on the holy image to which his poor distracted mother had held him up still acted upon his imagination At any rate in his difficulty he came to us to find out whether here, perhaps, he could give "all" or again only "two roubles" and in the monastery he met Zossima the "Staryets."

It is necessary here to explain who and what are the "Startsy" of our monasteries. I only wish I were competent for the task, but I will endeavour to give a brief and superficial description. The authorities on the subject assert that comparatively recently, not a century ago there were no "Startsy" in our monasteries, although in the Orthodox East especially in Sinai and Athos, they have flourished for over a thousand years. These authorities, moreover, unhesitatingly maintain that there must have been "Startsy" long ago in Russia also, but that in the stress of the national calamities—the Tartar tyranny, the internal disorders, the severing after the fall of Constantinople of our relations with the East—they died out and were forgotten.

The institution was revived among us towards the end of last century by Paissy Vyelitchkovsky one of the great ascetic saints and his disciples, but to this day it exists in a very few monasteries only and at times it has been subjected almost to persecution as an alien innovation.

When and how it was introduced into our monastery I cannot say but we had now had three successive "Startsy" of whom Zossima was the last. He was now nearing his end, worn out by old age and ill health, and there seemed to be no one to take his place.

This matter of the succession was important because our monastery had not been famous for anything in particular until we had a "Staryets." We had neither relics of saints nor wonder-working ikons, neither glorious traditions nor historical exploits and services to the fatherland. It was our "Startsy" that had brought prosperity to our monastery and had spread its fame abroad throughout the land: it was to see and hear our "Startsy" that the pilgrims flocked in crowds, for thousands of versts from all parts of Russia.

What then is a "Staryets"? A "Staryets" is one who takes your soul and your will into his soul and will. In choosing a "Staryets" you renounce your own will and resign it absolutely into his keeping. This awful discipline is undertaken voluntarily by the disciple in the hope of ultimate self-conquest and self-mastery, in order by a life of obedience to attain to that perfect freedom which is freedom from the self, and to escape the lot of those who live their whole lives through without ever finding their true selves in themselves. The institution is founded not on theory but on the thousand years' experience and practice of the Eastern Church. The disciple owes to his "Staryets" more than the customary obedience of the Russian monk. He must never cease to make confession to him, he can never loose the bond that binds them together.

Here is a recent illustration. A monk of our own time living on Mount Athos had grown to love his monastery as a sacred place and as a quiet haven of refuge. Suddenly his "Staryets" commanded him to go forth first to Jerusalem to worship in the Holy Places and from thence to the far North of Siberia, saying, "There is the place for thee and not here." In sore grief and amazement the monk went to Constantinople and besought the supreme Patriarch of the

Church to release him from his obedience. The Patriarch replied that not only was he powerless but that there was not and could not be on earth a power that could release him from his obedience to a command once given by his "Staryets," except the power of that "Staryets," who had laid the duty upon him.

The authority of the "Startsy" is thus unlimited and in certain cases incomprehensible and that is why in many monasteries they have met with such strong opposition,

But the people loved them from the first. To our monastery for instance, the people flocked in crowds, the greatest in the land together with the humble, to confess their doubts, their sins, and their sufferings to the "Staryets" and to seek his counsel aud precept. The opponents of the "Startsy" have seized on this fact to add to other accusations the cry that the sacrament of confession is being arbitrarily and frivolously degraded. In the end, however, the institution has taken root and is slowly spreading among the Russian monasteries

Zossima was sixty-five. He came of a line of squires, in his early manhood he had been an officer and had seen service in the Caucasus. There was about him a certain spirituality that, doubtless, had impressed Alyosha and the old man in his turn loved the boy and allowed him to share his cell.

Note however that Alyesha, although he lived in the monastery, was not under its discipline. He was at liberty to go wherever, and for as long as, he liked and if he did wear the monastic dress, it was of his own free will in order not to be different from the others. Of course he enjoyed wearing it too, if only because his youthful imagination had been deeply stirred by the power and fame of Zossima.

It was widely held that the experience of the long years, during which multitudes had come thirsting for his advice and healing counsel and revealing their innermost sins and afflictions, had given to Zossima an insight into the human soul so keen, that he could tell at the first glance, why a man had come, what he needed, and even what was on

his conscience. He sometimes startled and almost terrified his visitors by his knowledge of their secrets before they had breathed a word.

Alyosha noticed that many, almost all who went into the "Staryets" for the first time, went in apprehensive and uneasy and came out bright and happy. The most gloomy face came forth transfigured. Alyosha was particularly impressed by the habitual gaiety of the "Staryets" and by the absence of all sternness in his reception of his visitors. As a matter of fact the monks used to say that the greater the sinner the more Zossima loved him.

Up to the very end of his life some of the monks hated and envied Zossima. There were few such now and they refrained from open attack, although several extremely celebrated and important personages, as for example one very aged monk famed for his amazing feats of silence and fasting, were of their number.

The great majority, however, were undoubtedly on his side and very many loved him sincerely and whole-heartedly. Some indeed, who were almost fanatically devoted to him, affirmed among themselves that he was a saint, of that there could be no further doubt They, therefore, expected that his approaching death would be instantly followed by miracles and that in the near future the monastery would have great glory from his relics.

In the miraculous power of his "Staryets" Alyosha had unquestioning faith for he saw how many of the people, on whose children and relatives Zossima had laid his hands with prayer, returned soon after, some the very next day, to fall in tears before him and thank him for healing their sick. Whether there had been a miraculous cure or simply an improvement in the natural course was not a question that Alyosha ever put to himself. He believed implicitly in the spiritual power of his master and gloried in his fame.

His heart beat faster and his face lighted up especially when the "Staryets" went out from his cell to the expectant crowd of humble pilgrims, who had flocked from all over

Russia to see him and to obtain his blessing. They bowed down before him, wept, kissed his feet, kissed the ground on which he stood, and wailed, while the children and the "possessed" women were held up or led to him The "Staryets" spoke to them, repeated a short prayer, blessed them and sent them away. Of late ill health had so exhausted him that he was sometimes unable to leave his cell and the pilgrims waited in the monastery for several days till he came out.

It did not astonish Alyosha that they so loved him, bowed down to him, and wept passionately on but seeing his face. He understood perfectly that for the humble soul of the Russian peasant, worn out by toil and grief, beaten down by the everlasting injustice, by his own and the world's everlasting sin. it was the greatest need and consolation to find a holy thing or a holy man to fall down before and worship. "We sin, are false, and fall, yet somewhere on the earth there is some one holy and high, he has the truth, he knows the truth, therefore is the truth not dead upon the earth, and it will come one day to us too to reign throughout the world according to the promise."

That the people feel and even reason after this manner Alyosha knew and he understood. He had no more doubt than these weeping peasants and the sick women holding up their children to be blessed that father Zossima himself was this very saint in whose keeping was the truth of God.

More strongly, perhaps, than any of the monks was Alyosha convinced that the death of the "Staryets" would bring extraordinary glory to the monastery and now the flame of ecstasy kindled by that thought was blazing within him. It did not disturb him at all that his "Staryets" stood alone, a solitary example. "No matter, he is a saint, with him is the secret of salvation, that power which will establish truth on earth at last, when all will be holy and will love one another, when there will be neither rich nor poor, neither high nor low, when all will be as the very children of God, and the true kingdom of Christ will come" That was Alyosha's dream.

II. The Death of father Zossima.

Alyosha entered the cell of Father Zossima with an aching heart fearing to find his master fast sinking, perhaps already unconscious, and he was astounded by what he saw. The "Staryets" was sitting up in his chair, looking worn and weak, indeed, but cheerful and glad, and he was talking with quiet serenity to a circle of visitors. As a matter of fact he had risen only half an hour before. His friends had assembled earlier and waited for him to wake, for Father Poissy had confidently assured them that the master would rise from his couch to hold converse yet once more with his dear disciples, saying, "he himself gave this promise in the morning."

Father Poissy put implicit trust in this promise and in fact in every word of the dying "Staryets." He might have seen him unconscious or breathing his last yet, holding Father Zossima's promise to arise and say farewell, he would not have believed perhaps in death itself but would have waited for the dead man to recover and fulfil his promise.

In the morning before dropping off to sleep the "Staryets" had said to him, "I shall not die before I have drunk deep of your beloved converse, before I have looked on your dear faces and poured forth my soul to you once again."

All who had assembled for this last conversation with the "Staryets" had been devoted to him for many years. They were four in number: Father Joseph, Father Poissy, and Father Michael a monk neither aged nor learned. He was of humble extraction but in spirit he was steadfast, in simple faith unfaltering and his austere exterior was but a cloak for a deep tenderness of which he seemed to be a little ashamed. The fourth, Father Anfim was a very old and simple little monk of the poorest peasant class who was almost illiterate. Quiet and reserved, he rarely spoke to any one and among the humblest he was the most humble. He

looked like a man who had been eternally bewildered by a great and awful revelation beyond the power of his mind to comprehend.

Father Zossima deeply loved this frightened little man and always treated him with marked respect. Yet there was perhaps no one with whom he had exchanged fewer words, although they had spent many years wandering together through the length and breadth of Holy Russia. That was long long ere this, forty years ago, shortly after Father Zossima first became a monk, when in company with Father Anfim, he had journeyed forth to collect offerings for the poor obscure monastery of Kostroma, of which he had become an inmate.

Father Zossima and his guests were all in the bedroom of the cell, a room so tiny that there was scarcely room for the four to group themselves round the master on chairs brought from the other room. It was darkling and the room was lit up by the lamps and candles burning before the Ikons.

Seeing the troubled figure of Alyosha in the doorway, the "Staryets" hailed him with a glad smile and held out his hand. "Here you are too, my quiet, dear boy, I knew you would come." Alyosha drew near, bowed himself to the ground before his master and wept. His heart was too full, his spirit was over-wrought, he could not restrain his sobbing.

"Come now, don't weep over me yet," smiled the "Staryets" laying his right hand on the boy's head. "You see I sit and talk, perhaps I have yet twenty years to live. Have you been home and have you seen your brother?" Alyosha wondered at this confident and precise reference to one of his two brothers. Perhaps it was for his sake that he had been told to go home both yesterday and to-day but to which of them was it that the "Staryets" alluded.

"I have seen one of my brothers," answered Alyosha.

"I mean the elder of the two, the one to whom I made obeisance yesterday."

"Of that one," said Alyosha, "I caught only a passing glimpse yesterday and to-day I could not find him anywhere."

"Delay not to find him, go again to-morrow with all speed, leave everything only make all haste. Perhaps you may yet forestall some terrible happening. I bowed down yesterday to the great suffering in store for him." He said no more and seemed to be thinking.

At these strange words, Father Joseph, who had witnessed the deep obeisance to which the master referred, exchanged glances with Father Paissy, but Alyosha was too agitated to contain himself

"Holy Father and Master," he began "your words are dark to me · · · what is this suffering that awaits him!"

"Seek not to know. Yesterday I seemed to see something terrible, yesterday his face seemed to foretell his fate. There was one look of his that struck me with sudden horror at what that man is preparing for himself.

Once or twice in my life I have seen such a look in a man's face · · · the expression, it seemed to me, of his fate and alas ! that fate came to pass. I sent thee to him, Alyosha, for I thought that thy brotherly countenance would help him. But all is from the Lord and our fates are in His hands." "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die it abideth alone; but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit." Remember that.

"Know, Alyosha," continued the "Staryets" with a quiet smile, "that often and often I have silently blessed thee for thy face. I think of thee thus. Thou wilt go forth from these walls and wilt abide in the world, in spirit still a monk. Thou wilt have many adversaries but even thy foes will love thee. Life has in store for thee many sorrows. Through them thou shalt be happy and wilt bless life and, what is greater wilt teach others to bless it. There, that is thy destiny."

"Holy Fathers and Masters," he turned with a tender smile to his four friends, "never to this day have I confessed

even to him, why this boy's face is so dear to me. Now at last I will tell you. His face has been to me, as it were, a memory and a prophecy. In the dawn of my days, in early childhood I had an elder brother who died when he was only seventeen. In the course of life's journey the conviction grew upon me that this my brother had been a sign ordained for my guidance from on high. For I believe, had he never been, had he never come into my life, that I should never have become a monk and never have entered on this precious path. He came to me first in my childhood and lo! in the evening of my days he seems to have come to me again. Fathers and Masters it is wonderful that Alyosha, who bears so little outward resemblance to my brother, should seem to me so like him in spirit that I have often taken him literally for my brother mysteriously come back to me at the end of my wanderings. I marvel at this my strange dream."

"I should like to tell you of that brother of mine for his presence has been the most precious and prophetic and moving experience of my life. My soul is at rest and I live my whole life over again in contemplation.

. . . . . .

This last conversation of Father Zossima's with the friends, who were with him when he died, has been preserved for Alyosha wrote it out from memory shortly after his master's death. Whether, however, his is a faithful record of that conversation or whether Alyosha combined therewith former conversations he had had with the "Staryets," is a matter I cannot accurately decide In his account Father Zossima speaks without a break and tells his life to his friends in the form of a continuous story. But subsequent accounts make it clear that it was not quite like that and that, as a matter of fact, all who were present took part in the conversation. The guests said little but they did talk and perhaps even gave their own experiences. Moreover Father Zossima could not have spoken without a break, for he was at times speechless and fighting for breath and he

even lay down on his bed to rest, although he did not fall asleep and his friends remained in their places. Once or twice, too, conversation was stilled while Father Paissy read from the Gospels.

It is further noteworthy that no one thought that he would die that night. His deep sleep during the day seemed to have given him a new energy to sustain him in this lengthy conversation with his friends. But it proved a last effort, giving him incredible animation for a brief spell only, and his life was cut short suddenly. . . . . of that later. Here I wish only to say that I have preferred not to set forth the general conversation in detail, but to confine myself to the account given in Alyosha's manuscript. That will be shorter and less tedious, although of course, as I must repeat, Alyosha drew largely on previous conversations for his composite record.

III. Notes on the life of the deceased "Staryets" Father Zossima, taken from his own words by Alexey Fyodorovitch Karamazoff (Alyosha).

(a) Father Zossima's Brother.

Beloved Fathers and Masters, I was born in the far north in the town of V. My father was an aristocrat, but neither a man of mark nor great position. He died when I was only two years old, leaving my mother a small wooden house and money enough to keep herself and her children in comfort, and I do not remember him at all. There were two of us, Markel, who was about eight years my senior, and myself, Zinovy. Markel had a hasty and irritable temper but he was good hearted and never teased me. He was, moreover, extraordinarily taciturn, especially at home with mother and me and the servants. At school he did well in class but he never mixed with the other boys although, so mother used to say at least, he never quarrelled with them.

When he was seventeen, just six months before he died, he became a frequent visitor at the house of a man, who kept very much to himself and who was said to be a political

exile from Moscow, banished to our town on account of his heretical opinions. He was a great scholar and a distinguished University philosopher. Markel, who somehow had gained the affection of this man, often spent whole evenings with him throughout the winter, until the exile, through the influence of powerful friends, managed to secure his recall to a Government appointment in Petrograd

When Lent began, which was just then, Markel spoke bitterly against its observance and refused to fast saying, "That is all nonsense and there is no God." My mother and the servants were horror-stricken and so was I, for, though I was only nine years old at the time, his words terrified me.

We had four servants all serfs whom a landlord friend had bought for us. I can remember my mother selling one of the four, our lame old cook, Afimya, for sixty paper roubles and hiring a free woman in her place.

Markel, though he was tall, was fragile and delicately built and he was also extraordinarily beautiful. Having inherited a weak chest he was always ailing and now in the sixth week of Lent he took a sudden turn for the worse. We supposed that it was only a cold, but the doctor had no sooner seen him, then he whispered to my mother that Markel had galloping consumption and would not survive the spring.

My poor mother now used all her tact to induce him to fast and partake of the Holy Sacrament while he was still able to go about, but her efforts simply made him angry and blasphemous. It set him thinking, however, and it was not long before he guessed that he was dangerously ill and that the meaning of her eager desire for him to fast and communicate was, that he should do so, while he had strength. He had long known that there was something the matter with him and a year before this he had coolly remarked at table to mother and me "I am not long for this world, I may not last another year," truly prophetic words!

Three days afterwards Passion Week began and on the Tuesday morning my brother started going to Church to

prepare himself for Holy Communion. He rejoiced my mother's heart by saying to her: "Mother, I am doing this simply to please and comfort you, but she mourned too, for this sudden change in him was a sign to her that the end was near. Ere long he had to give up going to Church He was confined to bed and so had to confess and take the Sacrament at home.

The days were now bright and fresh and fragrant (it was a late Easter) and Markel, though I could hear him coughing the whole night long, always put on his clothes when morning came and tried to sit up in an arm chair. And that is how I remember him, quiet and gentle and smiling, his body sick, his face radiating happiness.

He had experienced a wonderful and sudden conversion and a new spirit had come to him altogether. Formerly when our old nurse offered to light the lamp before the Ikon he refused to allow her and would even blow it out. Now it was: "Light it, light it, you dear old soul, I was a beast not to let you do so before. When you light the lamp you are praying to God and when that makes me glad I am praying too. Therefore it is to one God that we pray."

These were strange words for us to hear from him and mother, who before going in to him was always careful to dry her eyes and simulate cheerfulness, was often driven in tears to her own room

"Don't cry, mother darling," he would say: "I have a long time to live yet, long to rejoice with you: life is good and full of joy."

"My poor darling, what joy can life hold for you, all the night tossing in a fever and racked with coughing?" "Do not grieve, mother," he would answer, "life is Heaven and we are all in Heaven now if only we have faith to believe it. If we but wished it Heaven would come to-morrow to dwell among men throughout the world." We marvelled at his words and were moved to tears so strangely and positively did he speak.

To neighbours who came he would say: "dear friends, what have I done that you should love me so, how can you and how comes it that I did not know and prize your love before?" And to the servants he was continually saying: "My dear ones, why do you serve me, am I worth it? If God in his mercy spare me, I will be your servant for all men ought to serve one another."

Mother listening would shake her head; "Darling, it is your illness makes you say such things."

"Oh! mother my joy," he would continue, "I know there must be masters and servants in this world, but even so I will be the servant of my servants also. Furthermore, mother the guilt of the whole world is upon each one of us and upon me most of all."

Here mother positively smiled, smiled through her tears: "How comes it that the guilt of the whole world is upon your shoulders most of all. Robbers and murderers we know, but what sin have you managed to commit that you should call yourself the chief of sinners."

"Mother, dear little heart of mine," he said, (he had begun to use these queer caressing names to her) my joy, each one is responsible to all men, for all men and for all sin. I cannot explain this to you but with every fibre of my being I feel that it is so and I cannot understand how we went on living as we used to, wrangling and blind."

Every morning he awoke more and more full of sympathy and joy, the very embodiment of love. When the doctor, an old German called Eisenschmidt, came he used to joke with him saying: "Well doctor, are you going to give me another day," and the doctor would answer: "Not one day, but many days, and months, and years, too. "What need of months and years, doctor," Markel would retort, "why count the days even, when in one day a man can experience all happiness. Oh friends, why do we go on fighting and squabbling and nursing our grievances; let us go out into the garden to walk and play there, to know and love and embrace each other and bless our life." "Your

son cannot live," said the doctor to my mother on being shown out, "his brain is affected."

Markel's room looked out on the garden. Its shady old trees were just bursting into bud, the first birds of spring had arrived and were chirruping and singing to him in at the window. Looking at them in love and wonder, he suddenly began to ask them too to forgive him.

"Joyful birds of God, forgive me for I have sinned even against you." That was beyond our comprehension but he wept for joy saying: The glory of God was round about me, birds, trees, meadows, sky: I alone lived in shame: I alone dishonoured it all, blind to the beauty and the glory.

"Your tender conscience takes far too much upon itself," our mother said mournfully. "But mother, my gladness, I weep for joy and not for sorrow. I cannot explain why but I like to confess my sin to them, for I do not know how to love them enough. To be forgiven by all things for sin against all things is Heaven. Am not I now in Heaven?"

Among much that I cannot now recall I remember especially this. I had gone to him one bright evening when the setting sun was lighting up the whole room and he was alone. Calling me to him he placed his hands on my shoulders, looked me tenderly and lovingly in the face for a minute without speaking and finally said: "Run and play now, live for me too." I ran off to play then but often and often since I have remembered with tears how he bade me live for him. And there were many other wonderful and beautiful sayings of his that we did not understand at the time.

He died in the third week of Easter speechless but conscious and to the very end there was no visible change in him. He looked happy, his radiant eyes sought ours and with a smile he beckoned us.

There was much talk even in the town about his death. I, though I was too young to experience excessive grief, was deeply moved and wept bitterly at his funeral. Mere child

as I was I retained an indelible impression of everything. Markel lived on within me ready to arise and speak, when the time, which did come, should come.

(To be continued).

H. S. WALKER.

CONFLICTING IDEALS IN INDIAN ECONOMIC LIFE.

Just at the present moment India is passing through one of the most critical periods in her long and chequered history. Whether we look to the political, the economic, or the social and religious life of the nation, we shall come across divergent schools of thought each trying to influence the country in its own way. The result is that it is extremely difficult for the people to choose the right path of progress out of this confusion of opinions and conflict of ideals. There is no clearly defined line of progress before the country, there is no distinct goal; the people are being simply driven along by present currents and prevailing winds; consequently the progress that we are making is extremely slow It is therefore urgently necessary for us to define our ideals quite clearly and then to realize those ideals through a well-conceived programme of work. It will not do for us any longer to move in a half-hazard fashion or follow a reckless, thoughtless course. Unless we set our house in order betimes and go forward with the greatest possible speed, we are sure to lose the opportunity of a life-time and remain far in the back-ground in the universal race of progress that has just been resumed after the great war. And again, unless we are very careful to choose the right ideals and take the right path, the cause of progress will suffer for ever, because these are times of lightning speed advance, and the cumulative consequences of our action will never be undone.

On the present occasion, however, we shall confine ourselves, as the heading of the article shows, to a consideration of the conflicting ideals of economic life that are at present in vogue in India. Before we take up the ideals themselves we shall enter into a short discussion of the foundations of economic life in general. As economic life is only a part of man's social life, the goal we want to reach

and the path we want to follow must be entirely in conformity with the sociological conditions and temperament of the country. Again, as the primary materials of our economic activities are furnished by nature, economics must also be moulded and conditioned by the external environment. Hence, social constitution and natural environment—these are the two main pillars upon which the economic organization of a country must be built, if that organization is to be a living, stable, and efficient one, well-adjusted to the geographical and human resources of the country, being vitalized by and vitalizing them in turn. It is almost a fatal blunder to imitate the economic institutions of other countries without the least discrimination as to their suitability and adaptability to the environment and the genius of the people. List was undoubtedly right when he laid great stress on a National System of Political Economy, although his followers extended and applied his principles beyond the limits laid down by him. In India, in recent times, we have a staunch advocate of the regional basis of economics in Dr. Radha Kamal Mookerjee. The case for regional or national economics cannot be expressed with greater force than in his own words : " Since it is for the satisfaction of regional needs and racial life-values that a particular environment has evolved its characteristic type of economic arrangement and institutions, it therefore must be recognized that economic reconstruction of any environment can only be successful by expanding and unfolding its characteristic type, utilizing the accumulated force of tradition. It is on the bed-rock of a region's characteristic social and economic arrangement that the super-structure of new economic forms is to be raised. Wherever there is forced interference and substitution, there will be deadlock and arrest of progress." Hence in organizing and building up the economic life of a country, we should look to its past history and traditions, the social and religious ideas and ideals of the people, their vital and permanent instincts and sympathies, no less than to the

natural resources like mines and sources of power, and natural conditions like climate and soil. Unfortunately in all schemes of economic reconstruction in India, while the natural basis of industry is sufficiently recognized and utilized, scarcely any heed is paid to the sociological basis of economic life in the country. As a matter of fact, while the possibilities of nature have been and are still being vigorously explored, sociological studies are yet in their infancy. These must now be undertaken on a comprehensive scale, if our man-power resources are not to be allowed any longer to run to waste owing merely to ignorance of the proper modes of handling and utilizing them.

Having discussed the basic conditions of economic life, we shall now consider the merits of the different conflicting ideals that are at present struggling for the mastery of the field. In the first place, there is one school of thinkers who are simply dazzled by the glamour of material progress in the west, and who, therefore, would like to transplant bodily western economic institutions to this country. This is at present the dominant and the most powerful opinion in India. The Government officials, the great millionaires of Bombay and Calcutta, and the powerful and rich foreign houses are members or tacit suporters of this school. It also meets with passive approval and sometimes active co-operation from the educated people of this country. And last, though not the least, most of the statesmen and University professors support it by the great weight of their opinion and sympathy. The ideal that is sought to be attained is complete westernization or urbanisation of India. Set up a larger and yet larger number of huge factories all over the country, and then your economic advance will take place by leaps and bounds. Drain the villages of farmers and convert them into skilled and unskilled workers in the factories, and then there will be all-round happiness and prosperity. Coal and iron, machines and mechanics, millionaire capitalists and vast numbers of landless labourers—these and these alone will be able to convert the country

into a land of wealth and comfort. This is the path that has led the western countries to wealth and prosperity, and this is the path we must follow if we want to be their competitor. This feeling and attitude of mind has been further confirmed and strengthened by the wonderful success that has been achieved by Japan in an incredibly short space of time by following the methods of the west. If an oriental country, similar in mental and moral equipment, may have imitated the west with such large rewards, what is there to prevent India from following the same path ? Thus the new precedent of progress in Japan is trotted out to confirm the old precedents in the west, and an appeal is once again made to the country to westernize or industrialize itself without loss of time.

As has been already indicated, this is the dominant and most powerful school of thought in India. The appeal it makes and the argument it employs are almost irresistible. Naturally enough, the ideal of industrialism preached by it exercises a great influence upon the country. Consequently there has been some progress in concentrated production or manufactures in India. First and foremost among the large-scale, organized industries of India is undoubtedly the place of jute manufactures. The raw-material is virtually a monopoly of India, and the working up of the material into finished products does not require much skilled labour. Hence this manufacturing industry has made considerable progress. The first power mill in India to spin jute was set up in 1855 and the first weaving mill in 1859. Till 1875. the progress was slow but steady, but since then the record has been one of uninterrupted progress. From 1879-1919, the number of mills has increased from 21,000 to 76,000, the amount of capital from 271 lakhs to 1,447 lakhs, persons employed from 39,000 to 2,70,000, and looms from 5,500 to 39,300, and spindles from 88,000 to 8,24,000. It is really a record of remarkable progress in a period of just 40 years. This rate of progress was still further accelerated during the last war; from 1913-14 to 1918-19, the export of raw-material

dropped from 52 7 per cent. of the total to 19·5 per cent. while that of manufactured articles advanced from 47·3 per cent. to 80·5 per cent.

Coming to cotton, we find that the first cotton mill was started in Bombay in 1851. The number of mills increased rather slowly at first, but after the boom of the sixties there has been steady and fairly continuous progress. The cloth trade with Africa and Arabia, and the yarn trade with China had become important by 1882. But the closing years of the nineteenth century saw the beginning of an era of remarkable industrial expansion in Japan, who at present not only supplies her own needs, but has nearly ousted India from the Chinese market, and further has during and since the war, begun to pour into Indian markets large quantities of cotton manufactures along with other commodities. On the other hand, it is probable that there has been some expansion of markets for Indian cotton goods in Mesopotamia and East Africa. On the whole, however, the cotton industry of India has made steady progress during the last 40 years. From 1879 to 1919, the number of mills increased from 58 to 264, persons employed from 40,000 to 2,90,000, looms from 13,307 to 1,16,000, and spindles from 14,70,830 to 65,90,618, while the amount of capital employed has advanced from 5·62 crores to over 28 crores.

Passing on to a review of the progress made by the woollen mills, we find that during a period of 15 years from 1904 to 1918, the number of mills has increased from 6 to 7 only, the amount of authorized capital from 46 lakhs to 276 lakhs, the number of persons employed from 3,468 to 8,442, of looms from 737 to 1,344, and the quantity produced from 2,765,000 lb. to 10,540,000 lb.

These three textile industries practically complete the list of important factory productions in India. There are some other articles produced in factories, such as sugar, paper, matches, etc., but these are compara tively unimportant. As regards the mining industry, which is one of the pre-requisites of the factory system of production, the production of

coal has made considerable progress. From 1891 to 1918, the amount of coal raised increased from 2,758,000 tons to 20,722,493 tons, out of which 20,702,373 tons were retained for internal consumption, the corresponding figure of consumption in Japan being 26,172,677 tons. The number of persons increased from 82,002 in 1904 to 1,76,498 in 1918. The value of coal raised in India in 1890 was Rs. 58,79,905 while in 1918 it was Rs. 2,46,77,940. The other important pre-requisite of the factory system of production is iron. But the production of this basic material is as yet altogether far from adequate to the needs of the country. The total quantity of iron-ore raised in 1918 was only 492,484 tons, while the value was only just over 7 lakhs of rupees. Contrast these figures with those of imports. The total quantity of iron and steel imported in 1919-20 was 426,900 tons, a figure much below that of the pre-war year, 1913, (1,018,200 tons). The value of iron and steel imported into India in 1919-20 was 1,633 lakhs, while railway plant and rolling stock amounted to 459 lakhs, and machinery 958 lakhs. Thus the total value of the import of iron and steel and their products amounted to 3,050 lakhs—more than 4 times the total value of iron-ore raised in India. Further, in contrasting the figures of imports with those of internal production, it should be borne in mind that owing to abnormal conditions during and after the war, India has been partially starved of iron and steel goods. These figures are enough to reveal the deplorable deficiency of India in iron and steel as well as iron and steel goods.

Thus we have seen that of factory or concentrated production jute has made satisfactory progress. Cotton, which occupies the second place, has been moving on steadily, but its progress has not been at anything like the rate achieved by its competitors, especially Japan. The comparative position of the cotton industry will be realized when we learn that in 1918, while 7,209,873 cwts. of raw cotton were absorbed by Indian mills, the figure for export was 7,308,105 cwts. out of which Japan alone was responsible for 5,188,570

cwts. Again, the same lack of proportionate progress is shown by the imports of cotton manufactures. In 1913-14, the pre-war year, the value amounted to 66·30 crores, which dropped during the war to some 60 crores, at which point it remained till 1920-21, when it suddenly leapt forward to 102 crores. Once again, looking at the figures of imports of cotton goods from Japan we find that in the opening decade of the present century, there was practically no import. In 1913-14, the figure was £903,000, in 1917-18, £11,294,000, in 1920-21, £14,975,000. Hence, whatever the line of enquiry, the conclusion is irresistible that our cotton industry has not kept pace with competing industries in foreign countries, nor has it expanded in proportion to the expanding demand of the country. And there was this lack of progress, in spite of the natural protection afforded by the war.

We have further seen that of coal and iron, two of the most important factors of concentrated production, while the production of coal has reached an approximately sufficient amount, that of iron is practically still in its infancy. Thus, on an analysis of the progress that has been made in India in the matter of concentrated production or industrialization, we find that the results have been up to now far from satisfactory. It took England only 75 years (1750-1825) to become the most efficient and successful industrial country in the world. On the other hand, the measure of success achieved in India during a period of 60 years (1860-1920) cannot stand any comparison with that of Japan not to speak of England, Germany, and other western countries.

Our review of the progress of industrialism in India shows clearly, therefore, that we have not had even a fairly reasonable amount of success in concentrated production. Let us now try to find out the causes of this absence of industrial progress in this country. As Russell Smith observes, "the manufacturing industries result from a combination of conditions largely geographic in their origin and covered by the terms raw material, power, labour, markets,

and capital." Of these factors, capital is thoroughly mobile and goes wherever some advantage in one or more of the other factors offers a prospect of high return. Although capital is still somewhat shy in this country, the protection and security offered by the British Indian Government is enough to attract capital from other sources, specially from England, that old moneylender of the world. Further, lack of sufficient indigenous capital in this country is more apparent than real. This is due mainly to the absence of sufficient banking facilities in India, which are the only means of collecting and organizing the capital of a country and making it ten-fold and a hundred-fold more efficient than in an unorganized state. There are at present only four industrial banks in India. The number of general banking institutions is also small. This is one of the most important causes of our lack of progress in industrial expansion. The main obstacle in the way of establishing banking institutions in India is the absence of a sufficient number of trained bankers who can successfully and safely conduct banking business. The disastrous banking failures in the Punjab before the war have been traced chiefly to the ignorance on the part of managers even of the most elementary principles of theoretical and practical banking. In order to make up for this deficiency, it has been arranged by the Government of India that the recently created Imperial Bank should open at least 100 new branches within a period of five years. Further, there is an understanding that most of these branch banks should be manned by Indian youths who are to be trained as apprentices under expert bankers. It is hoped that these trained young bankers will in future play an important part in the development of banking in this country.

Next, there is the question of raw materials. India comprises a vast area with a variety of economic zones, and hence most of the raw materials of industry are produced in the country itself. Look at the figures of exports from India. In 1919-20, the total exports amounted to 30,902 lakhs

of rupees, of which 15,986 lakhs or more than 51% consisted of raw materials. Again, almost every country in the world is an importer of some kind or other of raw material from India. This shows conclusively that nearly every kind of raw material required is found within the borders of the country itself.

The question of markets is only one of comparative efficiency and sound trade organization. If we can produce goods comparatively cheaply, it will then be practically a matter of building up trade connections to push our wares in foreign markets. And further, the country itself with its 300 million souls offers a market which is capable of almost unlimited expansion.

But the most important of all factors of manufacturing industry in a country is undoubtedly the supply of labour. The factory system of production, with its equipment of expensive, elaborate, and complex machinery, requires that there must be an abundant supply of efficient labour population settled in the neighbourhood of the factory. It is here that the defects and many-sided evils of modern industrialism are generally to be found. A vast army of landless and homeless proletariate has to be concentrated near the factory area. Ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed, these labourers degenerate rapidly into a mass of mere muscular force, without any family ties or moral stamina or culture. Toiling from morning to evening in the dusty and smoky atmosphere of the factory, and tired with the monotonous routine of mechanical work, they retire from their toil only to drown their misery and hopelessness in strong wine and unrestrained indulgence in other intemperate habits of life. Far removed from the wholesome influences and restraints of social life, which are specially effective in the case of illiterate people, they resort to every form of pleasure or vice without the least scruple or hesitation. These evils are still further accentuated owing to the total indifference on the part of capitalists to the welfare of the factory hands.

Crowded together, as they are, males, females, and boys, all into dark, narrow, and ill-ventilated rooms, it is not unnatural that they easily fall into habits of immorality and vice. When three or four families occupy a single room, or single adult lodgers live in rooms occupied by one or two families or again a chance collection of males and females are huddled together in the same room, we cannot look for the least degree of moral sanity or sexual purity. This deplorable condition is due in no small measure to the disparity between the sexes that is prevalent in the factory areas In 1918, the total strength of adult labourers employed in all the factories was 10,58,962, out of which 8,97,617 was the number of males, while the adult females numbered only 1,61,345—a proportion of 11 to 2. There is small wonder, therefore, that our factory population descends rapidly the downward course to immorality and vice. And these natural temptations to vice become all the greater and the power of resistance weaker, when the laburers have only two alternatives between which to spend their time—continuous drudgery on the one hand, and indulgence in the worst forms of debauchery on the other. Thoroughly illiterate and without receiving the least degree of intellectual training, they are utterly incapable of making those wise and liberal uses of leisure which are the highest aims of civilization, and which alone make man noble and virtuous and make life worth living. Again, the labourer's illiteracy is not only responsible for the degradation of his life, but is also a contributory cause of his inefficiency as a productive factor.

Turning to the supply of skilled labour, of foremen and mechanics, of engineers and captains of industry, we find that there is the same insufficieny as well as the same inefficiency as in the case of ordinary workers. This is no doubt partly due to the traditional aversion of the intellectual classes from mechanical toil or business. But time is rapidly working a change in the attitude of the people. There is at present great eagerness visible among the intellectual classes

for getting their living by commercial and industrial pursuits. But this enthusiasm is at present rather ineffective owing to the very meagre opportunities of business training that are to be found in this country. The number of institutions to impart instruction on these lines is quite inadequate to meet the demand that exists for them. Again, the opportunities for practical training are also very few, as the most important classes of business and industry are either owned or managed by Europeans who are naturally reluctant to take in Indian youths as apprentices in their firms. Herein lies the explanation of the fact that most of the industrial and commercial concerns of this country are in foreign hands. This is also the explanation of many failures in Indian managed business that we have experienced in recent times. It is therefore quite natural that a country, where ordinary workers are in such a deplorably degraded condition of illiteracy and immorality, and skilled high-grade workers are so few and far between, should have found the greatest obstacle to progress in the absence of an abundant supply of efficient labour force.

But that is not all. Concentrated and crowded life and the joyless, tiresome monotony of mechanical work in factories appear to be quite uncongenial to the inherent temperament of the people. The ties of family affection are too strong for the Indian to keep him long away from the humble cottage in his native village. Again, his traditional attachment to his paternal acres attracts him back to land for at least 3 or 4 months in the year. Added to this are the suffocating and revolting conditions of his life in the factories, which make him exceedingly anxious to turn his back upon the factory life at the earliest possible moment. Hence we find that the labour force in our factories is of a temporary, shifting, and floating character, the labourer alternately working in the factory and living upon his land. The consequence is that on the one hand the factories cannot rely upon a steady supply of a sufficient number of labourers throughout the year, and on the other, labourers never become

efficient in their work. This is also one of the main causes of the extremely slow and halting progress of our industry. Once more we are brought back to the basic fact that the problem of industrial expansion in India resolves itself into one great factor—and that is, how to get an abundant and steady supply of different grades of efficient and reliable labour force.

We have already said that the industrial organization of a country must be built up on its environmental and sociological foundations, if that organization is to be a living and vitalizing one. We have also noticed that in India while the natural conditions of industry have received and are still receiving sufficient attention, the sociological bases of industry are altogether ignored. Such neglect is alone responsible for the deplorable conditions of labour supply in our factories. There are few persons who would entertain the idea that we could get along in the modern world without concentrated, large-scale production in some fields at least. But the factory system, if it is to find a congenial soil for its growth in this country, must make itself also congenial to the country and its people. In the first place, if we want to get a steady, permanent, and settled supply of labour we must make factory life at least tolerably agreeable to our workers. For this purpose reform is necessary both within and without the factory. On the one hand, we must provide sufficient intervals of leisure for rest and meals between the periods of work in the day-time. It is also necessary that there should be more humane and generous treatment of the workers than what prevails at present. On the other hand, we must not huddle together a mass of people, men, women, and boys, like a herd of cattle or sheep, in damp, ill-ventilated, and narrow rooms. Decent, though small and humble, cottages with a small plot of land in the front or the rear, should be separately allotted to individual families. Primary schools and play grounds should be provided for the children of the working classes. Hospitals and institutions for recreation should also be set up.

In progressive countries, all these humane conditions of life are provided for by the State or by public bodies. But as there is no chance of the Government in India undertaking to pay all the expenses of these reforms the larger share of the burden would undoubtedly fall on the shoulders of the employers. Now, although the employers are naturally and instinctively reluctant to spend their profits in anything but filling their own purses, a little reflection will convince them that they will be more than sufficiently compensated for their expenses by the existence near at hand of a steady, permanent, and settled colony of labourers who will be doubly efficient owing to steady work in a happy frame of mind and the elevation in the tone of life, brought about by education and a wise and intelligent use of leisure. These changed conditions of life in the factories will also reduce the disparity between the sexes and do away with the evils arising therefrom, by encouraging the tendency to permanent settlements with whole families These are the irreducible minimum of liberal changes that are calculated to remedy the inherent difficulties of the present labour situation and encourage the supply of an efficient, steady, and permanent force of labour for concentrated production in India. Those who are directly interested in the progress of industry in this country and sincerely wish for a rapid advance along western lines, must direct their attention to the sociological side of the labour problem and must put forth earnest and immediate efforts to adapt the new conditions of life and work to the communal habits and temper and the time-honoured social ethics of the people. Extensive investigations into the social conditions of factory life and publication of the results thereof, are calculated to go a long way in creating a sound and effective public opinion on this point. And public opinion can get these reforms easily accomplished by putting pressure upon the Government on the one hand and employers on the other.

So far we have discussed in some detail the present position of the factory system of production in India. We have also indicated a few lines along which reforms should be undertaken so that some of the main obstacles in the way of steady and rapid advance may be removed. But at the same time the limitations of the industrial system in India must also be thoroughly recognized. India is mainly an agricultural country. Its people are traditionally as well as instinctively conservative in nature. Love of home and attachment to the paternal plot of land are too strong to be easily overcome. Fifty years of industrialism in India have not succeeded in attracting and maintaining a steady and permanent supply of labour. And this is the result, in spite of the fact that pressure upon land in most parts of the country has already become too great to make agriculture a paying business at all. Most of the peasants in India are over head and ears in debt and remain so from generation to generation. The cultivation of land, instead of making him prosperous and happy, often drags him every year deeper and deeper into misery and debt. It has been estimated that half the people of India cannot afford to have two meals a day. And yet the peasant will not leave the village, but will cling tenaciously to his home-stead and his small plot of land. Even if a small number of peasants migrate to the factory areas for a few months, they return to the home of their fathers at the earliest possible moment. Hence, the conclusion that forces itself upon us is that a wholesale or even a large-scale industrialization of India is an impossible ideal which can never be fully realized. Large-scale production must confine itself only to a few selected and already well defined fields of industry. The jute industry, some lines of the cotton industry, mining industries, and engineering and ship-building works must, as now, be carried on under the factory system. But these few industries, however expanded, can only attract and absorb a very small fraction of the population of India. According to the census of 1911, it is found that, roughly speaking, out of a population of 313 millions

in India, 71 per cent. are engaged in pasture and agriculture and 29 per cent. in all other occupations combined. Of this 29 per cent. again, 58 millions or 18 per cent. of the total have been placed against "preparation and supply of material substances." But by far the greater number among these are engaged in home or cottage industries, while out of a total of 5 million persons engaged in transport, country boats, and bullock carts support 3 millions, railways claiming only 1 million. Again, of the 18 millions dependent upon trade, over 9 millions or more than half are petty shopkeepers and grocers. Thus out of the 58 millions, trade and industry of the modern type cannot be credited with more than 20 millions or just over 6 per cent. of the total population. Accordingly, the remaining 94 per cent. of the total population of India are dependent directly or indirectly upon agriculture and rural trade and industry. Hence, an overwhelming proportion of the Indian people is still dependent upon rural economic life. Thus, it is clear that the path of progress for India will lie a great deal more in the improvement of agriculture and subsidiary rural industries than in an advance along the lines of industrial expansion. Undoubtedly it is somewhat important to establish a few industries on an organized basis. But as has been shown above, the factory system of production is rather of secondary importance in a country where the vast majority of people live on land and must rise and fall with the varying fortunes of the agricultural industry. Unfortunately, however, we have long utterly overlooked this basic fact in Indian Economics. The Government as well as the public have uniformly and consistently left agriculture, the greatest national industry of India, in the cold shade of neglect. While the industrial possibilities of India have been thoroughly investigated over and over again by various committees and commissions, and while expensive and elaborate technical departments have been set up in connection with industry, the efforts so far made and the steps already taken by the Government for the promotion of agriculture,

are totally inadequate and ineffective. There are a few agricultural colleges in India, which turn out a number of agricultural experts every year. But the best and most brilliant among these merely go to swell the ranks of departmental officials in this country. Again, there is only one agricultural research institute at Pusa, in which various investigations regarding agricultural improvements are carried on, and the results thereof are published. But so long the activities of that institute have made little or no impression upon Indian agriculture. There are also a few demonstration farms established here and there. But most of these are located in or near urban areas, far removed from the areas of actual agricultural operation. The consequence is that the cultivator knows nothing about these improved methods, but carries on his agricultural work in the same old, stereotyped fashion. On the other hand, the penetration of machine-made clothes and other necessaries of life into the inmost recesses of India has killed or is gradually killing many of the cottage or home industries which served as occupations for the peasant during the off seasons, when owing to climatic reasons he could not do his work in the field. His agriculture and his subsidiary occupations enabled him to remain in a tolerably solvent condition. Not merely that the village was self-sufficient with its complement of artisans and workers, but every peasant was, to a great extent, a sufficient unit by himself He not only produced his own bread, but built and thatched his own house and made his own clothes, and had to buy only a few simple luxuries on very rare occasions. But now all that is completely changed. His clothes have to be bought from Lancashire or Bombay, his house is thatched with corrugated iron from England or America, his kerosine oil comes from Burma or New York, and similarly most of his necessary articles have to be procured from outside. And all these things he has to purchase out of a reduced income, now that his subsidiary occupations are gone. There is small wonder, therefore, that agriculture is hardly a paying concern at all,

and the agriculturist has to sink deeper and deeper into a state of indebtedness and despair. Modern commercial exchange has proved his inefficiency and dependence in every direction.

The main problem in Indian economic life is, therefore, how to rescue the peasant out of his present helpless position. In our opinion, there are only two alternative methods of improving his lot. He may either return to his ancient mode of life—the life of almost complete economic autonomy —so that between his agriculture and his minor occupations, he may somehow be able to pull on without incurring any debt. Probably this idea underlies the present movement of the 'charka' which is the symbol of ancient self-sufficiency. Although this ideal is incapable of complete realization in this commercial epoch, still some progress in that direction is undoubtedly desirable. The peasant cannot remain solvent, if he is busy with his agriculture alone, for his small surplus of agricultural crops cannot procure him all the things he must have. The second method by which his lot may be improved is to help him to multiply the yield of his land by modern methods of scientific agriculture. And this line of advance is entirely in keeping with modern conditions. It is only when he can increase the amount of his agricultural crops with the aid of science, that he may specialize in one occupation and one product only. For then and then alone will he have a sufficient surplus with which to pay for the satisfaction of his multifarious wants.

As we have already noted, the results of the various steps that have been taken by the Government for the improvement of the peasant's condition have so far touched only the fringe of Indian rural life and labour. We have shown how inadequate has been the work of the Agricultural Department. The work of the Co-operative Department has been attended with no great success. We have personally visited a number of co-operative societies in Bengal and the United Provinces. But the impression that we have received of them is that the whole thing has been

mechanically imposed from above, and that the main principles of co-operation are rarely assimilated by the members, with the result, that their lot is hardly improved at all And this is not unnatural. Co-operation is based upon the very lofty principles of self-help, mutual good-will, and thrift These qualities are rarely found even among educated people. How much less, then, is the chance that those virtues should be practised by a mass of illiterate people ? The same illiteracy is also responsible for the slow progress that agriculture is making in this country. Thus, whatsoever social or economic problem we may happen to discuss, we are inevitably led, like Aristotle in his "Politics," to education as the only solution. Hence, education, better and more practical education, established on a compulsory and universal basis, ought to be placed first and foremost among the many-sided reforms that are sought to be introduced in this country. It is only when we have thus secured an educated and intelligent people, that we may preach the gospel of industrialism, or teach the principles of co-operation or attempt scientific agriculture, with truly beneficial results. It is thus and thus alone that our industries will expand and our agriculture will thrive. If we can improve our agriculture, a rich and prosperous peasantry will be better customers of our industrial products than a semi-starved and indebted mass of population. On the other hand, the progress of industries will create larger and steadier markets for our agricultural products. Thus, there will be simultaneous progress in both directions, and harmony will at last be realised in the economic life of the country. Thus will be removed that deadlock which has been the most characteristic feature of our economic transition and which has, as we have seen, arisen on account of the great disparity between the western industrial ideal and the accumulated force of economic tradition and environment in the country.

It must, however, be recognized at the same time, that it will necessarily take a considerable period of time to spread the most up-to-date system of scientific agriculture in this

country, which alone will enable the peasantry to live by commerce and thus fall in line with modern tendencies. Hence in the meantime it is necessary that the peasant should be helped to become at least partially self-sufficient by encouraging and fostering the subsidiary or cottage industries. A greater degree of self-sufficiency is undoubtedly essential, if the peasant is to be saved from further indebtedness and further ruin. If we can thus rehabilitate our agriculture and rural economy generally, our industries too will thrive of themselves, and India will assuredly become a happy home for her 300 millions of people.

HIRENDRA LAL DEY.

COWPER'S TASK—A STUDY

Cowper's most considerable legacy to the Romantics is *The Task.* It was written at the age of fifty-two in the years 1783-84 during the poet's residence at Olney, and published in the following year. It is in blank verse, and consists of six books, entitled *The Sofa, The Time-piece, The Garden, The Winter Evening, The Winter Morning Walk, The Winter Walk at Noon.* The successive titles are suggestive.

The great revival in literature, which culminated in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, is in essence the application to art of a recovered feeling for beauty in nature. Among its results was the resuscitation of "the great metaphysical style" in poetry. Although the progress of recovery, once the true note had been struck by Wordsworth in 1798, was remarkably rapid, there were few signs of the coming change, when in July 1783 Cowper sat down to write, at the request of Lady Austen, an exercise in verse on 'the Sofa,' as a distraction from the hideous fancies that threatened to overcloud his mind. Even the preliminary work seemed hardly to have begun. The cobwebs which had hung about the theory and practice of poetry for more than a century had still to be swept away. A new medium in verse and diction, which the great increase in knowledge of all kinds was beginning to demand for its emotional expression, had yet to be found. New forms were required; and if poetry of the highest kind was to be looked for, it was expedient to discover some great predominant form, which should adapt itself naturally to the needs and aspirations of the time and win popular acceptance. The importance of *The Task* lies in its being the earliest attempt to find such a form, and still more in Cowper's largely successful experiments in verse and diction.

Fettered as Cowper had shown himself in the earlier *Poems* (1782) by the Conventions of the School of Pope, he

had never acquiesced, either in theory or practice, in the supremacy of its dictator. In the very first of those pieces, *Table Talk* (written 1781), he says of Pope:—

> He
> Made poetry a mere mechanic art,
> And every warbler has his tune by heart.

The tune breaks in often enough in all these poems, but passages are not wanting—the fine paraphrase of 'the walk to Emaus' in *Conversation* is one such—distinguished by a freedom in rhythm and language which fully justifies the sentiment of the following lines:—

> A poet does not work by square or line,
> As smiths and joiners perfect a design;
> At least we moderns, our attention less,
> Beyond th' example of our sires transgress,
> And claim a right to scamper and run wide,
> Wherever chance, caprice, or fancy guide.[1]

But Cowper's antagonism was not engendered merely by satiety or personal prejudice, though this latter was strong. He had heard grander music, and had given in his allegiance to Milton while still a youth.[2] Three years before the publication of the *Poems* of 1782 he wrote to Newton, "Was there anything so delightful as the music of the *Paradise Lost*? It is like that of a fine organ; has the fullest and deepest tones of majesty with all the softness and elegance of the Dorian flute. Variety without end and never equalled, unless perhaps by Virgil." Earlier writers like Thomson who had reproduced the blank verse of *Paradise Lost*, had worked mechanically, deaf to its subtler harmonies. Cowper himself is at times seduced by their example; but he saw clearly—and this at the moment was of the first importance—where its special strength lay. "Blank verse" he writes to Unwin "without variety of numbers is no better than bladder and string."[3] The pressing need was for a metre that could accommodate itself to shifting moods, to the sublimest flights as well as to the most familiar utterances.

1. *Conversation* 789-94.
2. Cf. *The Task* Bk v. 709-717
3. Letter to Rev. Wm. Unwin, Oct. 10th, 1784.

The problem of diction was even more pressing, and here the dangers were greater, since in eschewing the artificial phraseology of the classical writers, the temptation was to fall, as some had already fallen, into a slavish imitation of the heroic language of Milton. From this Cowper's good taste and natural passion for simplicity generally saved him. The choice of subjects also which chance and necessity dictated was fortunate. Nevertheless he had long been aware of the arduous nature of what he was attempting: "Every man conversant with verse-writing knows, and knows by painful experience that the familiar style is of all styles the most difficult to succeed in."[1] Yet, as he demonstrated that Milton's instrument could be tuned to set forth "familiar matter of to-day" without sacrificing its infinite variety, so he succeeded in reclaiming the diction of poetry, fitting it once more to express "the language of the heart," directly, simply, yet without loss of dignity or beauty.

A great experiment, such as *The Task* is, must needs, exhibit many inequalities. Sometimes the rhythm is simply that of the heroic couplet measure without the rhymes; at others a false note is struck by the appropriation of the inflated Miltonic phraseology, the familiar is often reached by way of parody of the heroic manner, admirably illustrated by the following lines in their impish comparison of the modern geologist with the workmen of Lucifer:—

> Some drill and bore
> The solid earth, and from the strata there,
> Extract a register, by which we learn
> That he who made it, and reveal'd its state
> To Moses, was mistaken in its age. [2]

But the fine sense of humour which made this possible, also preserved Cowper from the pedestrian dullness to which Wordsworth so often descends. On the other hand, the lofty emotional passages of *The Excursion* find few parallels in *The Task*. As Cowper passes into a more serious vein of meditation he all too frequently relapses into the didactic,

1. Letter to Rev. Wm. Unwin, Jan. 17th, 1782.
2. *The Task* Bk. iii, 150-54.

that besetting sin of the eighteenth century from which he never emancipated himself. As we wander in his company along the pleasant woodland paths, obtaining a glimpse now and then of some gentle prospect, or follow his observant eye to note the features of a simple country scene, he is continually drawing us aside to improve the occasion with a whispered caution, or a more strongly worded reproof. But these we take in good part, for the sake of those many vignettes from nature drawn with a clarity and a sympathetic insight, so fresh and so ingenuous. Such are the descriptions of the Post-boy (Bk. iv, 1-22), Crazy Kate (Bk. i, 549-556), the Redbreast (Bk. vi, 77-84).

Cowper's delight in nature was sincere and even enthusiastic, but limited in many directions. His experience of natural scenery was confined to the mildly undulating country around Olney, through which meandered the 'lilied lowland waters' of the Ouse. He had never seen a hill until he visited his friend Hayley's country seat at Eartham in Sussex in 1792. His visions of the sea were youthful memories. But his attachment to the woods and meadows and to the wild creatures that inhabited them was deep, and he was an acute observer of the varying aspects of nature under the changing influences of atmosphere and season. His power of accurate description was almost as great as Wordsworth's, but more restricted and far less imaginative.

In the sixth book of *The Task* there is a long passage describing nature in her winter garb, and anticipative of the coming glories of spring. Nowhere does Cowper approach more nearly in felicity and truthfulness of expression to the manner of the nineteenth century.

> These naked shoots
> Barren as lances, among which the wind
> Makes wintry music, sighing as it goes. [1]

might have been written by Coleridge. "Rich in streaming gold" is as happy a description of the laburnum as Tennyson's more ornate "dropping-wells of fire," and

1 *The Task* Bk. vi, 141-143

nearer to the truth. Equally beautiful are the following lines :—

> And all this uniform uncolour'd scene
> Shall be dismantled of its fleecy load,
> And flush into variety again. [1]

Cowper's devotion to animals, so admirably expressed in his letters, is one of the signs in him of that new spirit which was so completely to change the relations between man and animate nature, a spirit which finds its clearest expression during this period in Gilbert White's *Natural History of Selborne* (1789). As elsewhere his range is limited, but his touch, with its feminine qualities particularly marked here, is sure. Take these lines on the squirrel; more fitting language in which to convey the engaging antics of this fantastic half-wild thing of the woods would be hard to find.

> He sees me, and at once, swift as a bird
> Ascends the neighbouring beech; there whisks his brush,
> And perks his ears, and stamps, and cries aloud,
> With all the prettiness of feigned alarm. [2]

In the treatment of such subjects, in the poem on the *Green Linnet* for example, Wordsworth's debt both to White and Cowper is considerable. But this was not always Cowper's manner. In an address to Nature in the third book (lines 721-31) she is presented to us as a "fair creature" able to attract admirers in the summer, but who "stripped of her ornaments, her leaves and flowers" in the winter, loses all her influence. Immediately after the beautiful lines on the transition from winter to spring, quoted above, comes this passage:—

> From dearth to plenty, and from death to life,
> Is Nature's progress when she lectures man
> In heav'nly truth; evincing as she makes
> The grand transition, that there lives and works
> A soul in all things, and that soul is God. [3]

1. *The Task* Bk vi, 178-180.
2. *Ibid.* 315-19.
3. *Ibid.* 181-85.

It is evident then that despite his love for the woods and the fields, Cowper was still, for the purposes of poetry, capable of personifying Nature, which in the former passage stands for the Country as opposed to the Town. It is equally clear that, whereas this is merely a traditional literary convention, lightly discarded when Cowper is recording his actual observations, in the latter passage Nature stands for something entirely different. Here he is giving expression to a deep-seated conviction, intimately bound up with his views on religion, and going to the root of his whole attitude to poetry and life. As without an understanding of these a correct appreciation of his literary achievement is impossible, some account must now be given of the tragic events of which they were the outcome.

In the year 1763 Cowper suffered from a severe attack of melancholia which ended in insanity. From this he recovered: but the hallucination that he was a lost soul never entirely left him, and gradually undermining, as time went on, his naturally gay and buoyant temperament, eventually it destroyed his peace. He was constantly haunted by appalling dreams, yet the operations of reason were never suspended. Religion undoubtedly helped to dispel the clouds from time to time, but in the heartless Calvinistic form in which it was administered to him, especially by the Reverend John Newton, it became, like the laudanum he took to alleviate his mental sufferings, both the cure and the poison. During the period of his greatest literary activity (1780-1790) he held firmly the belief in an Almighty and all-terrible God, who in his inscrutable wisdom had sent him this affliction. He might and did, all through this time of comparative mental calm, hope for a reprieve; but it would have seemed unreasonable to call in question the justice or infinite love of his Maker. "Though he slay me yet will I trust in him." In the *Olney Hymns* beneath much that is commonplace may be read the spiritual tragedy of this gentle soul. The earlier letters only now and then disclose the canker that was at work upon his spirit, and

there is little in *The Task*, despite the occasional melancholy undertone, to suggest the anguish of the writer. But here is his account; "*In the year when I wrote the Task*, ... *I was often supremely unhappy*, and am under God indebted in good part to that work for not having been much worse."[1] It is not difficult to see how this fixed idea of his eventual damnation, paradoxically combined with a firm trust in the ultimate mercy of God, affected Cowper's attitude to poetry and life. A letter might "be written on anything or nothing just as that anything or nothing happens to occur," but poetry, though also serving as an amusement and a solace, was a talent to be worthily employed. "I can write nothing without aiming at least at usefulness: it were beneath my years to do so, and still more dishonourable to my religion."[2] And the sentiment is continually reiterated in letters and poems. Thus the didacticism of his predecessors is retained as the handmaid of religion. So too the old personified Nature finds a part to play in Cowper's scheme of things; she becomes a kind of presiding spirit, whose function is to see that the purposes of the Almighty are carried out, and at the same time to "lecture men in heavenly truth." "The soul that lives and works in all things," however deceptive the resemblance in language, is thus something diametrically opposite to Wordsworth's world-soul. Wordsworth's spirit of the Universe is indwelling. For Cowper life in nature is the logical deduction from a personal God, who has his dwelling apart, and works in her as in a medium. "Those obstinate questionings of sense and outward things" would have seemed to him the rankest blasphemy.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to dissever the parts which these two dominating factors, his malady and his religion, with their complex interaction, played in the development of his art. They combined together, as we have seen, to drive him back at times upon the conventions, and, by checking his

1 Letter to Lady Hesketh, Jan 16th, 1786 The italics are Cowper's.

2. Letter to Rev. Wm. Unwin, Oct. 10th, 1784.

natural flow of spirits, they helped to preserve in his poetry the characteristic melancholy of his century. This quality he shares with many of the Romantic writers including Coleridge, and De Quincey; and, as in them, so partially at least in Cowper, it is the outcome of that habit of introspection, which so frequently accompanies prolonged sickness in mind or body.

The individual note which is constantly recurring in *The Task* may also be traced to the same cause. The example of Rousseau may have helped, for Cowper had certainly read *Emile*; but the confessional manner, even more strongly marked in such poems as *On the Receipt of my Mother's Picture*, was much more "the effect of . . . continual listening to the language of a heart hopeless and deserted," and forms another important link with the spirit of the nineteenth century. How close to that spirit he sometimes approaches may be gathered from a comparison of the following lines with the well-known passage in Coleridge's *Frost at Midnight*:—

> Nor less amused have I quiescent watch'd
> The sooty films that play upon the bars,
> Pendulous, and foreboding, in the view
> Of superstition, prophesying still,
> Though still deceived, some stranger's near approach.
> 'Tis thus the understanding takes repose
> In indolent vacuity of thought,
> And sleeps and is refreshed. [1]

But here again a check was imposed: the deeper emotions, too closely allied to religion and his dreams, were "forbidden fruit." Nevertheless he allowed himself a restricted liberty as regards verse, and his explanation for this is interesting and important. "You will tell me, perhaps, (he is addressing Newton) that I have written upon these subjects in verse, and may, therefore, if I please, in prose. But there is a difference. The search after poetical expression, the rhyme, and the numbers, are all affairs of

1. *The Task* Bk. IV, 291-98.

some difficulty: they amuse, indeed, but are not attained without study, and engross, perhaps a larger share of attention than the subject itself." [1]

There is, however, a further explanation. So long as there was hope of a release, religion itself imposed the restriction. As that hope receded the restriction was gradually relaxed, until finally in *The Castaway* (1799), when the "voice divine" no longer "allay'd the storm," the tone is unmistakable, [2] as we listen to the last despairing cry of him who had struggled so long and so manfully, before the deep waters closed over his head for ever.

The form in which *The Task* was written appears to have given its writer little conscious concern. The account of its origin in the advertisement to that poem is as follows:— "The history of the following production is briefly this: A lady, fond of blank verse, demanded a poem of that kind from the author, and gave him the SOFA for a subject. He obeyed: and, having much leisure, connected another subject with it; and, pursuing the train of thought to which his situation and turn of mind led him, brought forth at length, instead of a trifle which he at first intended, a serious affair —a volume! [3] There is here none the less a definite break with tradition. All the recognised forms, the satire, the epistle, the moral essay, the mock heroic are discarded, and Cowper "pursuing a train of thought," allows his individual fancy not only to dictate the topics but to shape the poem. The connection of parts is no longer to be imposed from without, but is to be sought in the mind of the writer. So in *The Task* 'the Sofa' occupies barely a hundred and thirty lines, and we wander on from topic to topic, seldom conscious of any destination, and stopping only when inspiration is exhausted. There is all the spice of adventure, but none of the satisfaction to be derived from a finished work of art.

1. Letter to Rev. John Newton, March 19th, 1784 The passage quoted well illustrates the harmful effects of Newton's interference on Cowper's peace of mind.

2. Cf., also the letters to Samuel Teedon (1786-1800).

3 Cf Rousseau's Preface to *Emile*, "My first idea was to write a tract a few pages long, but I was carried away by my subject, and before I knew what I was doing my tract had become a kind of book."

However unconscious of any such intention, Cowper's was the first of many attempts to find a new form for the long poem. The list of those which, like *The Task*, take the epic as their model includes *The Prelude, Hyperion, Don Juan, The Idylls of the King, The Ring and the Book.* Yet though complete success was never achieved, this failure was trivial in comparison with what was gained. The lyric was revived for English poetry, and displayed in its blossoming a spontaneity and variety unsurpassed in any literature. Here, too, Cowper was a pioneer. And in those more ambitious pieces, with all their faults and shortcomings, are innumerable passages which for their sublimity of expression and exaltation of thought, are worth all the refined verse of the two preceding centuries.

The importance of Cowper's work in this great revival must now be apparent. The reinstating of Milton not only revealed the distinction between the true and the false heroic manner, but provided a fresh literary inspiration. Wordsworth's *Sonnets, The Prelude, The Vision of Judgment, Prometheus Unbound* are sufficient examples to show how wide and vigorous that inspiration was. Cowper's love for common humanity, his eye for nature, and his individualism were equally significant; and the natural taste which led him to seek simplicity and sincerity of expression no less fortunate. All the great metaphysical poems of the nineteenth century are indebted to the experiments which he made in *The Task* and *Yardley Oak.* Even his didacticism and his other back slidings were not without advantage: for they kept his work within the understanding of the public. So that it was the popularity of his poems, far more than the songs of Burns or Blake, or the bald tales of Crabbe, that weaned the national taste from the old faded and outworn fashions, and prepared men's minds for the season not far distant now, when poetry should make "the grand tradition,"

> And flush into variety again.

C. J. BROWN.

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS TO THE COURT, FEBRUARY 28TH, 1922.

YOUR EXCELLENCY AND MEMBERS OF THE COURT,

One year has gone by since we met in this hall, the year that has witnessed the birth pang of this University, the year that has given its sponsors anxious thought for creating the conditions for its steady and healthy growth. Last year about this time I expressed the hope that I might be able to bring this University into being before we met again. And it is extremely gratifying to me that I am able to announce to you that that hope has been realised to the uttermost. The University is now functioning as a living organism with all its limbs pulsating with life, giving promise of a vigorous and useful existence.

This University has a constitution which is somewhat complex. It is different from that of the older Universities, and is a novel experiment in this country. But even with a few months' experience of its working and comparing it with my experience at Allahabad and at Benares, I have no hesitation in saying that this is a great improvement not only upon the constitution of the Indian Universities Act of 1904, but also on that of the Benares Hindu University Act, which in itself, was a distinct advance upon the older constitution. Minor difficulties are indeed cropping up, but these have to be met by suitable expedients. All the same I have no doubt in my mind that the almost complete separation of administrative and academic functions, which is the outstanding feature of this constitution, makes for greater efficiency and more harmonious working.

But, no machinery, however perfect, is capable of turning out any valuable output unless it is worked by able and skilful workmen. It has, therefore, been prominently before my mind ever since I took up my duties to get together a body of efficient teachers; and I saw from the first that of

all the factors contributing to the success of a University, the drawing together of a number of able men of learning and culture is the most vitally important. Last year I announced to you the appointment from the staff of the Canning College of a number of gentlemen as Readers and Lecturers in the Faculties of Arts and Science. We have now reinforced this staff by fresh appointments, and we have got together a number of men of distinction, forming part of the University staff. Our choice had to be restricted owing to the limitations of the funds placed at our disposal and also the accommodation available. But, in spite of this handicap, I am glad to be able to announce that we have amongst us now some men of eminence, who have done original work in their departments of study and who have made a reputation for themselves not only in India, but also in the West. Of course, much remains to be done. Still it is satisfactory to note that a beginning has been made, and the University is therefore winning its way to popular favour. We cannot, however, afford to rest on our oars. We cannot be contented with our past achievements, but we must try and draw together a larger number of men, who will make this University a real centre of learning and research.

Next in importance only to the efficiency of the teaching body is the framing of the courses of the University and ordering the life of the University in a manner calculated to facilitate the performance of its triple function of Conservation, Dissemination, and Advancement of Learning. In this matter, unfortunately, our choice was limited, and we had little freedom. For those students who had already entered upon a course of study, we were bound by the Act to provide the courses prescribed by the Allahabad University; and even with regard to those who joined us in July for the first time we could do very little, as the University bodies did not exist and we could not frame new courses. But during the past few months, all our Faculties have been busy devising new and improved courses, and it is hoped that these courses

will be announced soon, so that the students who join us next term will follow these courses. A prominent feature of the new courses is the complete differentiation of the Honours and Pass courses. The Pass course and the Honours course have so long been one, that this departure from the beaten track laid out on the dead level of a common course is a reform that has been overdue in these provinces. Proposals have been mooted both in the Allahabad University and in the Benares Hindu University for instituting Honours courses. But, for some reason or other they have been put off. It is evident that no fitting opportunity can really be given for advanced and intelligent work if the more gifted and able students are to be driven in the same team as others who have no particularly remarkable intellectual calibre.

It must not, however, be supposed that because we have not been able to have new courses this year, we had taken no steps to give this University a distinctive character. From the very beginning of this session, we have introduced, what is called, the Tutorial System of instruction, under which each teacher takes a number of students in batches of ten or fifteen and gives them individual attention. It is obvious what an immense advantage it is to the students that, besides having mass lectures, they should have the privilege of coming into close contact with teachers, who thus have opportunities of studying their individual wants and trying to meet them.

The second reform or innovation, which we have introduced is the system of what might be called University Extension Lectures. These lectures are given by the teachers of the University and often embody the results of their own research, although in a popular form. These lectures are open to the public, and it is hoped that they will not only help in arousing the intellectual curiosity of the public, but in securing their interest in the activities of the University. I take this opportunity of appealing to the members of the Court that they might attend these lectures whenever they

might find it convenient to do so, and not only that, but they might induce their friends to attend these lectures also.

The third innovation which we have just been trying to introduce is the system of house tutors or guardian tutors, under which each teacher of the University is put in special charge of a number of students. A student, when he enters the University, finds himself in strange surroundings, and stands in need of help and guidance, and it is a great advantage if he should have some teacher in the University to be in *loco parentis,* so to say, and in a special manner to look after the intellectual and moral welfare of the student throughout his University career. I am sorry that this system could not be introduced in the beginning of the term, because the number of teachers was not sufficiently large for the purpose, and also because the hostel accommodation was woefully meagre.

This brings me to the very sad confession of a great defect in the organization of our University—the lack of hostel accommodation, the gravity of which in a teaching and residential University cannot be over-estimated. We have three colleges in connection with the University, the King George's Medical College, which is now maintained by the University; the Canning College, which has been recognized by the University, but regarding the incorporation of which in the University there is already a Bill before the local Legislature; and the Isabella Thoburn College, which is, so to say, the women's department of this University. By a strange irony, the last, *i.e.*, the Isabella Thoburn College, which in some ways is the least developed of our institutions, is the one which does provide sufficient hostel accommodation. In the Canning College, there are two hostels. One provides accommodation for 100 students, and the other for 60 students, and we have about 300 students now. We are not sleeping over this grave situation. We propose to build at once two new hostels, at least one new hostel accommodating 100 students, and extending another hostel, which accommodates now 60 students, to accommodate 40 more.

We hope, therefore, that by the autumn of next year, we shall be able to provide accommodation for 300 students in the Canning College. The King George's Medical College is also deficient in hostel accommodation although not to the same extent. The total number of students in the college is about 174, and we have hostel accommodation for about 161. We have adopted a make-shift in accommodating a few boarders in a house—Nawab Ghulam Husain's bungalow —which the University has purchased, and which will be pulled down, and the site utilised for a big hospital. But, all these things will bring out clearly the fact that our hostel accommodation is meagre, and we are trying to meet the situation.

In the case of the King George's Medical College, hostel accommodation is not the only difficulty. If we are to admit more students, accommodation in the laboratory and class-room will also have to be extended. We are already taking steps to extend the Anatomical Department, the extension of which is necessary even if we do not have larger numbers. The paucity of numbers, however, is not altogether a misfortune. Dr. Norman Walker, Chairman of the Board of Visitors of the General Medical Council in Great Britain, who came to us lately to study the conditions of Medical Education in the University, was greatly impressed with the work that we are doing here, and attributed our efficiency in a great part to the paucity of the numbers that we have in this institution. Still, so long as there in only one Medical College in these Provinces, and there is a demand for the extension of University education in Medicine, I recognize that it is the duty of this University to provide further facilities, subject to the funds at our disposal.

The most important item, however, in the building programme for next year is the construction of the Convocation Hall, which will be built on the bank of the river Gomti, and which, when completed, will be one of the finest buildings in the country. It must not, however, be supposed, that we are taking this step so early in our building pro-

gramme, because we are in a hurry to add to the beautiful buildings already existing in Lucknow. The construction of the Convocation Hall is an urgent necessity from the utilitarian point of view. The Hall, when completed, will not only give to the University a local habitation and an individuality apart from all the colleges, but the Hall will also provide two lecture Halls for the large Law classes, a hall for the Library, and a number of rooms for holding the meetings of the University bodies and Committees, and class rooms for the Faculty of Commerce and the Oriental Department of the University. When we have got this Convocation Hall, even then I doubt whether we shall have sufficient accommodation in spite of the fact that the building in which we are meeting to-day will be utilized, even with the proposed extension, to its utmost capacity.

No review of the year, however cursory, can pass over in silence the most important event of the year, the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to the University. We regard this as a particularly good omen for the University, that the year of its birth should be the year of that auspicious event. It was a great privilege to the members and students of the University to come into contact with the charming and cultured personality of the Prince and to hear words of wisdom from his youthful lips. I hope and pray that in the lives of our students will be fulfilled the wish which was expressed by His Royal Highness that all the metal which is sent out into the world will ring true.

As life is a *mélange* of joys and sorrows, so the past history of an institution is made up of sunshine and clouds. I have to report the death of two of our greatest benefactors, both of them my intimate and personal friends of long standing. One is the Maharaja Bahadur of Balrampur, and the other is the late Raja Saheb of Jehangirabad. In the case of the latter our sorrow is tempered by the fact that we have amongst us here his nephew and heir, our present Raja of Jehangirabad, to give us encouragement, help, and support.

Now, it remains for me to thank all my colleagues who have been doing their best to help me with their co-operation. Needless to say, my feelings of gratitude are in a special measure due to His Excellency, the Chancellor, to whom to a considerable extent any success we have achieved is due, and to the Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, the Minister for Education, who has never failed to give me unstinted and ready sympathy. Indeed, it is due to him and to the Director of Public Instruction and the Educational Secretary that we could deal successfully with the preliminary steps necessary to bring the University into being. Before I sit down, I must report my sense of indebtedness to my friend, the Honorary Treasurer of the University, Mr. Blunt, who, from the very day I took over charge of my office relieved me greatly of my burden by taking entire charge of the financial side of the University, which, he has done in a way, which only an expert financier of his calibre could do.

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CONVOCATION 1922.

The first Convocation of the University of Lucknow was held on the afternoon of the 30th of October in a specious shamiana specially erected in the grounds of King George's Medical College. The function was brilliant and imposing and was attended by a large and distinguished gathering. Among these present were the Hon'ble Mr. Montagu Butler, Colonel Macleod, Hon'ble Sir Ludovic Porter, Hon'ble the Raja of Mahmudabad, the Raja of Jehangirabad, Hon'ble Mr. M. Keane, Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narain, as well as many members of the Legislative Council.

His Excellency the Chancellor, robed in his academical dress accompanied by the Vice-Chancellor, arrived in the shamiana in procession, preceded by the members of the Executive and Academic Councils.

After the Chancellor had declared the Convocation open, the Vice-Chancellor conferred the degree of Doctor of Literature on Sir Harcourt Butler.

In his speech the Vice-Chancellor said :—

Vice-Chancellor's Address.

"This is the first occasion on which this University is going to exercise its power of conferring degrees, and it is auspicious that we should open this chapter of our functions by offering our first degree to one who has brought this University into being. It is a common practice in Indian households that before the daily food is consumed, it is offered to the Creator and it is only when food is so consecrated that it is shared by the members of the family. In conferring our highest and first degree upon His Excellency Sir Harcourt Butler, we are acting in consonance with this practice and I feel that a ceremony, which begins so auspiciously gains in a subtle way in dignity and impressiveness, permeated as it is by

an undercurrent of satisfaction and joy in honouring him to whom honour is due, and also in this lively sense of our appreciation that in honouring him, we not only honour him who takes but, even to a greater extent, we are honouring the party that gives.

As you are well aware, Sir Harcourt Butler's career has been singularly marked by ability and efficiency. Among the numerous rulers of eminence and distinction which modern India has produced, Sir Harcourt Butler stands out prominently as one who is gifted in an unusual degree, with qualities of head and heart. These qualities have made him more than an efficient administrator, they have raised him to the level of a statesman who has the imagination and clarity of vision to lead people to climb heights. It is a work of supererogation on my part to dilate upon his towering abilities as administrator and statesman. · Having been associated with him for two decades and having enjoyed the privilege of his confidence, I know something of the richness of his heart, his ready and active sympathies and of his steadfast and warm friendship. It is this richness of heart that has secured for him a larger number of devoted friends than has fallen to the lot of ordinary administrators.

But the predominant feature of his character has been his love for education and his ceaseless efforts, not only to raise its level but to widen its sphere so as to bring it within the reach of the humblest. This is not to be wondered at when we remember that he comes from a family, more than one member of which is known to fame in the educational world. Whether we believe in moral heredity or not, the effect of social and intellectual heredity has never been questioned, and there is scarcely any doubt that he imbibed his love for education in the environment of his early youth. I witnessed the first manifestation of this when, twenty years ago, he came to Lucknow as Educational Secretary to the United Provinces Government, when he entered wholeheartedly into the task of furthering education in these provinces. I remember quite clearly the enthusiasm with which he identified himself with

the demand of the educated public in introducing the teaching of English in the lower classes of English schools, for just then a keen agitation was going on against Sir Anthony (now Lord) Macdonell who wished to prohibit the use of English in the lower classes.

Sir Harcourt Butler has been singularly free from the somewhat common official prejudice that the teaching of English to Indian youths is likely to incline them towards sedition. Throughout his career he has been an advocate for throwing open the treasures of western science, western literature, and western culture to the youths of India. It was when he was here as Secretary that he seized the opportunity of a visit from His Majesty, when he was Prince of Wales, to inaugurate a movement for the establishment of a first class Medical institution in these provinces, and his efforts have borne fruit in this institution where we are meeting this afternoon. When he went to the Government of India as Education Member, he brought his rare abilities and ripe experience to bear upon the solution of educational problems making them a vital factor in the administration of the country. For the first time Education ceased to be the Cinderella of all Government Departments, and it began to be treated with consideration, and even liberality. Financial grants to different Governments and Universities became a common feature of his administration. Then it was that he helped, by his support and co-operation, in the creation of the first non-official university in the country, the Benares Hindu University. Then it was that he prepared the ground for the creation of the Muslim University at Aligarh, although it did not come into being till he returned to these provinces as Governor. My long connection with the University of Allahabad has made me familiar with what he has done for that University. The University chair of History and Economics were created by his help and co-operation, and the chair of Post-Vedic Studies were due altogether to his initiative. Later on, he helped the University in creating a chair of Geography by pressing the importance of the study of Geography and by providing money from local Government funds for the creation

of that chair. Now when we come to our University what can I say but express a sincere debt of gratitude to him. He is the father of the University and it is he who has made the University what it is now. If this University, within a brief space of two years, has secured an assured position in the world of learning and scholarship, it is due mainly to his sympathy and help. The authorities of the University, keenly sensible of the great debt that they owe to him, resolved to confer, in appreciation of his services as educationist in general and to this University in particular, the degree of Doctor of Literature. The Academic and Executive Councils of the University having unanimously resolved that the Degree of Doctor of Letters be conferred upon His Excellency and the Court of the University having unanimously confirmed this decision, it is now my proud privilege, as the Executive Officer, to present this Diploma of Doctor of Literature.

Mr. M. B. Cameron, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, then presented the Arts students, of whom two received the degree of M. A. and 100 the B. A. Four women students were presented by Miss Nicholls, Principal of the Isabella Thoburn College. Dr. Sahebzada Said-uz-zafar Khan, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, presented fourteen graduates in M. B. B. S., and five who had obtained the Diploma in Public Health. Dr. Wali Mahomed, Dean of the Faculty of Science, presented one graduate in M. Sc. and twenty in B. Sc.

After the degrees had been conferred His Excellency addressed the Convocation.

Speech delivered by His Excellency Sir Harcourt Butler, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Chancellor of the Lucknow University.

GENTLEMEN,—I am very proud to receive an honorary degree from the Lucknow University, with whose establishment I have been so closely concerned, and the foundation stone of which I laid a little more than eighteen months ago. I congratulate you on the start that you have made. I appeal to the generous subscribers to pay up their donations without delay in order that the University, of which they are so justly proud, may not be held back in its operations. Thanks very largely to the ability and tact of my old friend, the Vice Chancellor, Mr. Chakravarti, you have commenced work without friction, you have got together an accomplished staff and, so far as it is possible within the short period of your existence, you have shown the value of a teaching and residential university. The results of your examinations have given general satisfaction. You have a design for the University buildings by the eminent architect, Sir Edwin Lutyens, which will, I think, outshine all university buildings in India. The design is a costly one; but I hope that the funds to carry it out will in time be made available, because it is a unique opportunity for planting on Indian soil a university which in architectural design and, I hope, in all the opportunities of learning will follow and emulate the great universities of the West. Let your ideas be big and your hopes high, for so you will best serve the coming generation.

The principal work of a university must ever be to teach the under-graduates and to maintain high standards of academic culture. But no university in modern times is worthy of the name unless it devotes a considerable portion of its resources in money and in intelligence to the cultivation of research as part of its ordinary functions. In laying the foundation stone I expressed the hope that in the Lucknow University you would cultivate the "humanities," including particularly the study of history, political science, economics, geography, and

language. In the fields of mental sciences, such as philosophy, religious thought, literature, and study of language, India's contributions to the advancement of learning have been signal and far reaching. But the basic conceptions on which these noble intellectual structures are built up are very different in the East from what they are in the West. The West derives its inheritance mainly from classical Greek and Roman culture, whereas India derives its inheritance from its own quasi-axiomatic notions of philosophy, of moral conceptions, of social organization, and of its form of literary expression. The full digestion of much in the Western teaching of "humanities" is far more difficult to the average Indian student than is generally assumed.

This is particularly marked in the matter of historical study. One searches almost in vain in the vast and splendid treasure-houses of Sanskrit literature for anything like true historical texts, such as, since the days of Thucydides, have been common and have been collected in the West. This is principally due to the intensity and power of Indian mentality which concentrated itself fixedly upon the essential principles of existence, disdaining as it were the petty and transient changes in material development, or political or ethnic phenomena. Islam, no doubt, brought to bear upon India the powerful effects of another civilization, permeated with elements derived from Hellenistic culture. But it still remains true that historical perspective is one of the greatest needs of Indian students to-day. This has been recognized in the parent University of Allahabad, to which we all owe so much and from which you have sprung. The "School of Historic Study" in that university, under the impulse of Professor Rushbrook Williams, has already achieved important results; and the growth elsewhere of historical societies bears testimony to growing interest in the subject. You, I am glad to say, have already a chair of Indian history and you have recently appointed a lecturer trained in epigraphy. The first volume of the Cambridge History of India is a landmark, but there is a vast field to be explored before India's early history can be fully reconstructed from the monuments,

inscriptions, and coins which fortunately are still abundant. This work was previously reserved for the small band of Western orientalists, to whom must be added some very exceptional Indians like Dr. Rajendra Lal Mittra, Pandit Bhagvan Lal Indraji and that venerable great scholar, who has honoured me with his friendship, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. It has now attracted a number of competent Indian scholars. Conditions, therefore, are favourable for the extension of historical studies on Western critical lines.

This is a matter which has for many years engaged my attention. Soon after becoming first Member of the Government of India in charge of the portfolio of Education, I summoned a conference of Orientalists then in India. One of the proposals of that conference was to create an Oriental Institute somewhat on the lines of the French Institute at Hanoi, or the Russian Institute at Vladivostock. Its object was twofold, to conserve the ancient learning and also to promote critical research. It was felt that there was room for such an institute notwithstanding the splendid achievements of the Archaeological department under the direction of Sir John Marshall. The proposal was rejected, but I still have a vivid recollection of the character and compass of the discussions that accompanied it. The antiquities of a country can best be studied and examined by the scholars of that country, and the universities of India have a grand opportunity before them of fulfilling the functions which elsewhere have been entrusted to research institutes. This is not a matter of academic interest alone. Thucydides said long ago that history was philosophy teaching by examples. It informs and guides political science by comparison, analysis, and synthesis. No progress can be sound and assured which does not rest upon realities in the present and the past.

Of political science and economics the importance is obvious in a country which is nearing political and economic majority. Here also you have begun well. Not only have you secured a number of devoted teachers who are enthusiastic on research in this field of work, but you have founded also a

Sociological Society which will deal, from a practical point of view, with problems of economics, anthropology, ethnology, and political science.

This brings me to the question of the study of geography in its large aspect. Geography has so far been sadly neglected in Indian universities. In my first convocation speech, on behalf of the Government, I presented a chair of Geography to the Allahabad University. It has not been found possible to fill that chair as yet, but I understand that the University seriously contemplate the opening of a school of geography. I earnestly hope that their efforts will be crowned with success. The activity of man in all ages and places is largely determined by his physical environment. The past of India strikingly illustrates the close relation between geography and history. The varied geographical features which distinguish the different regions and subdivisions of India account largely for the rôle which they have played at varying periods in the political history of India, or in the development of its culture and ethnography. Conditions of climate and cultivation, natural lines of communication, density and ethnic character of the population are as necessary for the investigation of industrial development as they are of political growth. Judged by its extent, the variety of its physical conditions, and its independent articulation India has like Europe a claim to be regarded as a sub-continent of Asia. In the syllabus for your B. A. examination I am glad to find a special paper devoted to Indian economic conditions —geographical, sociological, and political, and that in the study of the subject as a whole you lay sufficient emphasis on geographical environment. May I hope that some day Lucknow will remove the reproach that rests on British India, that it has no ethnographical museum. Here is a worthy object for the proverbial generosity of the Taluqdars of Oudh.

The systematic study of the great classical languages of India, Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian, is a very fitting subject for study here. The critical methods of the West have still to be applied over an almost unlimited area. The training of

competent teachers of these languages on modern lines is a necessary function of the university. No one has a greater respect than I have for the Pandits and Maulvis. I have learnt it from my old friends and teachers, the late Dr. Venis, Sir Denison Ross, and that great scholar and explorer, my friend Sir Aurel Stein to whom I owe more than I can say. The profound traditional learning of the great Pandits and Maulvis is one of the glories of India and the world. Of many branches of classical lore these venerable scholars hold the keys. But their methods require a lifelong study of the subjects of the most intensive kind and are unsuited to any general schemes of education, which must include other subjects and so limit the time available for instruction in the classical language. Both Sanskrit and Arabic grammar with their logical clearness and richness of inflection provide excellent exercise for the mental training of the young mind, but only if the constructive principles of word formation are visualized, as it were, with the help of suitably arranged books. The traditional teaching of Sanskrit grammar, as compressed with wonderful precision in the quasi-algebraic formulæ of that great codifier of Indian linguistic science, Panini, cannot meet these requirements. In our secondary schools teachers are needed who with thorough mastery of the structure of classical languages combine that wider outlook as regards the educational purpose of the language and its literature which only philological training on modern and Western lines can give. I am gratified to find that in selecting teachers of Oriental languages you have endeavoured to secure scholars who combine intensive study of the Oriental type with Western training according to modern methods.

I claim, gentlemen, that English has now become a classical language of India. Two different aims must be clearly distinguished in the university teaching of English. One is the study on true philological lines of the language and of the literature, which it enshrines, with a view to enabling student to comprehend the intellectual past of the nation, which has brought India into closer connexion with the West than ever

before. The other is to provide Indian students, whatever their mother tongue, with as complete a command of English in speech and written expression of thought, as is needed by those who intend to take their share in the civic life of the country, which as a constituent part of the British Empire must adopt English for its principal language of administration and public intercourse. The lines on which the latter aim can best be attained have been fully indicated in the report of the Calcutta University Commission, and to follow them up is likely to become more and more easy with the spread and improvement of secondary education. Many of its recognized defects so far may with full justice be attributed to the very serious difficulty felt wherever instruction has to be conveyed through a language medium foreign to the vast majority of both teachers and students. But in the face of this difficulty some comfort may be derived from the fact that as far back as our historical information goes, the administrative and intellectual work of India has for the most part, if not always, been carried on either in a language confined to the learned, like Sanskrit, or else in a foreign tongue, like Persian. Neither the use of what in most respects had been a dead language for many centuries before the Muhammadan conquest, nor the subsequent predominance of Persian, has prevented India's intellectual individuality from asserting itself throughout those ages. Is it too much to hope that Indian individuality will maintain its vitality, notwithstanding the advances of the English language, to the great advantage of India and of human civilization as a whole?

As Chancellor it is my duty and privilege to offer students advice. The difficulty of advising another generation is always present to me, although I am a student still. Each generation thinks that it is wiser and better than the generation that preceded it. And it is right, for in this way progress lies. The awakening of India has come. Great seismic movements are at work and you you may find yourselves carried along by forces that you can neither discover nor direct. But one thing you can do—You can stick to reality—You can

keep the issues clear. British ideas of freedom have made you what you are. The universities are the power-houses of freedom. The British have fearlessly given to India the boldest scheme of education in history. The fruits of that education are apparent to-day in some difficulties and much progress. Of late there has been a movement, which seeks to discredit progress on Western lines, to decry Western civilization, a movement which is clearly and inevitably heading for reaction. The forces of reaction are always persistent and resourceful in this ancient land of Hindustan. Do not make a mistake. The freedom which you cherish is a Western product. Sooner than you think you may have to choose between reaction and progress. I can only pray that your choice may redound to the happiness and prosperity of India. This is my message to all the young men who are shortly going out into the world. Stick to reality. Always connect words with things. Keep the issues clear. Remember that it is not really possible for the same thing to be and not to be. It only remains for me to say that I shall ever keep this day in grateful remembrance, and that I shall carry away with me great pride in the degree that you have bestowed upon me, and a strong abiding hope and faith in the future of this University.

After the ceremony of Convocation the large gathering proceeded to the spacious lawns of the Medical College, where the Court of the University entertained His Excellency at a garden party, and the numerous guests spent a delightful evening.

A GERMAN PHILOSOPHER ON INDIA.

A more accurate title for the following notes would run: "Hinduism and the Hindus as seen through the eyes of a modern German philosopher"; but that is too long to serve as actual title. It does, however, express what is aimed at in these pages, namely, to give in brief some idea of how Hinduism and the Hindus appear to a really fine scholar, who is in earnest with his philosophy, whose recent work enjoys a considerable reputation in Germany and whose book, whence these extracts are taken, has had a very large circulation in that country, for it appeared only in the spring of 1918 and the third edition is dated 1920. The book in question, *Das Reisebuch eines Philosophen*, by Graf Hermann Keyserling, consists of two volumes of smallish print, each running to over 400 pages. It is thus obvious that his views and ideas have aroused very considerable interest in Germany to gain such wide circulation.

Keyserling is a man of very wide culture: possessing a practical knowledge of experimental science in several departments in addition to thorough literary and philosophical training. We have therefore in his book not the immature deliverances of an imperfectly prepared youth, but the ripe utterances of a man of thorough culture, imbued with learning both wide and deep. For that reason, it seemed to me likely that even a very brief indication of what he has to say about his experiences in India might be of interest in the pages of the *Journal*, even though the limitation of its space must render impossible any thing more than a sketchy outline of a very small part of what he has to say.

By way of further introduction it may be added that Graf Keyserling's philosophical outlook is to a certain extent original, therefore of interest for its own sake; and further that he has utilized his "Diary of a travelling Philosopher"—to translate his title somewhat freely—as a means of expressing

that outlook. The book itself, the author remarks, should be read as a romance and its deeper purpose is not inaptly expressed in the motto placed upon the title page: "The shortest way to oneself leads round about the world."

Practically the whole of the first volume is devoted to Ceylon and India. It is all interesting, but merely a few notes can be given here, and we must plunge at once into the heart of things.

After spending some time in Ceylon, Graf Keyserling sets foot in India first at Rameshwaram, and his feelings and thoughts may be gathered from the following extracts:—

Rameshwaram Temple.

"What specially strikes me, is that these pilgrims, of such varied and different kinds, are yet in some way of the same mentality, the same spirit." "But—he asks—in what sense? In that of a common faith? Possibly, but that is not what I mean. I mean something which never before have I been aware of. I do not mean the metaphysical consciousness that all things, however externally separated, yet hang together inwardly: markedly as this may be characteristic of "the" Hindu. In the case of the folk gathered here—mostly small, simple people devoid of capacity for speculation—such consciousness is certainly only very weakly developed. What really impresses me in all of them, is the presence of a capacity of consciousness, that renders possible the grasping of realities, which do not touch the average Westerner at all."

"These pilgrims obviously understand the meaning of their symbols. And in their case, we are not concerned with that simple faith, with which the uncultured Roman Catholic cleaves to his cult, nor even with that mediated understanding of such symbols by the cultivated man, which springs *a posteriori* from reflective knowledge. To these pilgrims the symbol seems to unveil its meaning directly and immediately; their souls seem to be directly touched by

the holy words (mantrams). And that presupposes a capacity of consciousness, differing substantially from that of the ordinary European. But to me this is not foreign or strange. Any one who has transferred the emphasis, the accent of his consciousness out of the sphere of things into that of conceptions, so that he takes the latter more seriously than the former, seeing in the latter that which is truly real,—such a man discovers that in so doing new possibilities of experience open before him."

It may help the reader, if I here interpose the remark, that one feature of Keyserling's outlook is that he recognises various *aspects* of consciousness: for example distinct spheres of things and of concepts as *equally* "real." He holds that concept connections have two aspects: (*a*) in what corresponds to them in external nature; and (*b*) in their own proper nature—independent of all externality. We thus have a sort of Scheme or Picture of Objective Reality and also the immediate appearance of a *meaning* originally inherent in them. Illuminative illustrations of this may be gathered in plenty from religious ceremonies, from poetry and from music: wherein the rhythm and sequence of concepts and ideas finds natural expression. And it is especially these facts which Keyserling suggests that such pilgrims as those at Rameshwaram really *understand instinctively* and do not merely believe.

This emerges clearly from the following quotation:—

"I know that the Psychical is just as much an objective reality as the Material: that Concepts can be just as much and just as completely a corresponding and expressive embodiment of the metaphysically real, as rigid, or solid bodies; that it is everywhere possible, in principle, to act upon substance from out of the spirit. But the fact that I know and understand this, is not further interesting. The really significant and important thing is that these simple folk know it. They are no thinkers; no people with understanding; they are incapable of experiencing in advance

anything whatever *mentally*. They must *really* experience it; just as really as eating and sleeping. In short, they must stand in the same relationship to the psychical reality, as the Westerner does to the physical."

"But this does not settle the matter. Each and every capacity or power of consciousness reveals another stratum of nature. One who lives in the Hindu stratum is subject to influences and has experiences, that are unknown to others. In his case, casual sequences make their appearance, which are not otherwise demonstrable. And it is very possible that the road from his plane or level to the ultimate, deepest self-realization is shorter and more easily trodden than the road from our—western—level.

It is possible that herewith I have laid hold of the key to the problem of the Hindu "View of the World." To the Hindu the Psychical counts as primary; for him it is a more real thing than is the Physical. Looked at from the Absolute standpoint, the Hindu is no less mistaken in thus placing the stress or accent, than is his antipodes, who holds the Physical *alone* to be truly real."

Keyserling thus grants a certain reality to the results brought about by mantrams and religious ritual; but it seemed to him that the eyes of the devout pilgrims at Rameshwaram were the eyes of dreamers: looking on external nature *inattentively*. He points out that if the Psychic world is to be reckoned as *primary* and we are to regard concepts as being the most solid of reality, then from the western standpoint it is not incorrect to say— as so many have said—that the religious minded Hindu lives in Un-reality!

"But"—he continues—"the question is not settled thus easily. Every level of consciousness renders manifest another stratum of Nature. A man living in that of the Hindu is subject to influences, has experiences and meets events, which other folk do not know. . . . . For the Hindu the Psychical is the primary, for him it is *more* real than the Physical. Looked at from the standpoint of the

Absolute, he is no less in error in thus shifting all to one side the accentuation, than is his antipodes, who holds the Physical alone to be truly real. Still, just as the westerner has so thoroughly and profoundly understood matter, precisely *because* he overrates its importance, so it is quite possible that the Indian may well have penetrated deeper into the world of the Psychical than any other man, precisely because he alone has actually taken that world with full seriousness."

A night visit to the great Temple at Madura, with its wealth of strange and terrible forms, causes Graf Keyserling to make some rather striking remarks upon the "terrific" or "frightful" element in religions :—

"To-night I understand clearly why all the early forms of worship were "terrific" and needs must be so. . . . . For man, that is "beautiful" which enhances and stimulates his sense, his feeling of life. And that is brought about in primitive creatures by the ecstacy of the flesh. Only in intoxication, in the ecstacy of lust, in sheer cruelty, can such undeveloped creatures escape out of and beyond themselves, only so can they experience what the evolved human being lives through in silent, quiet contemplation of God."

"Therefore do the cult-forms of all deeply religious peoples in their early youth display a terrific character. Orgies of lust and cruelty are celebrated, there is frantic enjoyment and suffering, life is created or destroyed in the wildest frenzy. It must needs be thus. Early primitive men are deep only in their impulses, only sensuously upheld inspiration can unite them with their real substance ; only in the form of what is impulsive can they experience and manifest what lies deepest within them."

"But is this true only of what is early in time ? What then is the meaning of the cult, which in Europe is carried on over and over again, of the love impulse between man and woman, not infrequently with its coarsest form, other than a reaction against an all-too-much spiritualised view

of the world? How many are there who need "spirituous" drinks, sensations, the artificial whipping up of the flesh, in order to attain that point. They all stand, at the least with one part of their nature, upon the level on which the orgy, or the human sacrifice would be for them the true and proper expression of religious feeling."

Going on to speak of the extraordinary "forms" and "shapes" of Gods and Devas, etc., of which the temple is full, he points out that they are attempts to express some one dominant "impulse" in its fulness, exclusively; and he concludes with the observation—

"Even in the Middle Ages the West was too scientifically minded to give full, perfect expression to the *irrational*. It is precisely this which the Hindus have accomplished in their temple figures. The shapes and forms of the Hindu Pantheon, where they embody the basic, root forces of being, are of such an intense power of conviction, that I am prepared even to-day to believe in that "seer" or "clairvoyant" who once told me that they were real, true copies of the divine reality."

"Probably only such men are capable of a creative act like this, who have not yet condensed or materialised themselves to a spiritual personality; men who are essentially multi-personal, now taken possession of by one, now by another impulse, without any clear consciousness of the unifying bond. Regarded from the standpoint of *Atman* such men are superficial, for of the self they know nothing. But just for that very reason, what is deepest in them can ensoul the surface, in a way that is never possible in a man spiritualised through and through.

"Hindu—specially Dravidian—Art is", Graf Keyserling observes, "the fullest expression of *physical* imagination. I said above that in the shaping of the forms of her Gods, the basic, root Impulses, or Passions have found embodiment, such as no other people has invented with equal truth; and I added that such a creation could only be successfully achieved by a Psyche, a Soul, as yet not *unified:* a Soul or

Psyche, which is still essentially manifold, not condensed into a spiritual unity. Thus Hindu plastic Art as a whole means and expresses the rebirth in the plastic imagination or phantasy of the totality of *unintellectualised* life-powers and forces."

"It is the only very smallest fraction of life that is by nature and birth in accordance with reason, and which permits itself to be traced back originally to a spiritual ground; cravings and desires, sensations and feelings, impulses and acts of will, the urge towards growth and the renunciation of old age are essentially irrational phenomena, and one deprives them of their own special character, when one rationalises them. This, their own special proper character, achieves in Hindu art its most perfect expression, in unique purity and freedom from sophistication."

"The Temple of Madura seems to have come into existence, as a primitive organism grows up . . untroubled, undistorted by renunciation or prejudice, realising itself wholly and completely; full-blooded and rich in colour."

Keyserling sums up as follows the impression made upon him by the astounding wealth and even the exuberant exaggeration which characterise Hindu Art and Hindu Mythology alike :—

"In contemplating this Hindu World of Forms, it seems to me as though the Phantasy, the plastic Imagination of the flesh had created it. As though the creative Imagination of a great poet had infused itself into individual cells of the body, so that now the body "produces" or "creates" in the same sense as the creative imagination of a great poet in the psychic sphere. What would happen if some absolutely free phantasy were inseparably chained to the flesh? There would arise just exactly such shapes and forms as are characteristic of Hindu Mythology. Thus the idea of the All-Motherhood would express itself in the endless sprouting forms over and upon each other of breasts bursting with milk, just as one sees in the great Gopuram and the Madura temple and so forth. Thus would the body

create, if it were a poet; and thus did the spirit of Hinduism create in its great period."

"In its Art, the spirit of Hinduism appears entirely unintellectualised, un-unified, without any need even for Unity; but just for that very reason also more capable of expression, where the irrational was to be represented, than any other. Hindu Art, alone among all, has perhaps succeeded in convincingly projecting into the world of the visible that which is in itself invisible. For in Hindu Art it is just those dark formative forces which have worked with the same naive, natural freedom with which such forces normally work only in the body itself: wherein the pressure or impulse leads, almost inevitably, to the creation of the corresponding organ. In a dancing Shiva, there is contained more of the specially characteristic divine nature than in the whole army of the Olympian deities."

Following out further such lines of thought, Graf Keyserling is led on to some reflections upon Monotheism and Polytheism, which are at least suggestive and thought provoking.

After noting that the latter is the richer, the more varied and lively of the two, he continues:—

"Sooner or later Monotheism everywhere ousts the richer faith, unless other factors intervene; for when the Soul has unified itself, when an unequivocal self-consciousness has taken the place of the multiplicity of impulses and tendencies, then the substance of God, hitherto scattered hither and thither, conglomerates itself into a *single* God-head. Then along with Order, Regularity and Interconnection replace the original chaos. But at the same time the Universe becomes full of contradiction: at this very instant, when everything ought to be in harmony, it first becomes really apparent, how very little things really do harmonize."

"Further the Universe becomes impoverished: for now, when a single ideal floats over the whole creation, then that—whatever it is—comes to be denied, ignored or combatted, which stands to that ideal in no positive thinkable relation;

and since there is only too much of that sort of thing in experience, nature herself comes to be cramped and hindered in her free, natural growth. The world grows firmer, more rigid, more moral; everywhere among Monotheists, the characters are stronger, the principles more fixed, the forms of life purer. But against that, their souls are more colourless, stiffer and more rigid, for the most part also more dried up and unproductive."

"Polytheism and Monotheism are in opposition: the mystic on the contrary, whose consciousness of the Divine is usually and very badly termed Pantheism, is never hostile to Polytheism: on the contrary mystics have always flourished best in an atmosphere of Polytheism, as for instance in Europe within the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church."

"It is only conditionally correct to assert that the mystic *experiences* the unity of the God-head: his experience in reality lies beyond all number, and if he speaks of Unity, he really means that which is neither Unity nor multiplicity but both at once; and he calls it Unity because this concept, even here below, denotes Number as well as non-Number. In any case he is never a monotheist in the Jewish-Puritanical-Islamitic sense, although naturally mystics enough are to be found among those who profess monotheism."

"The mystic is really the contemplative, who lives wholly from within outwards, wholly in the Reality of Being and for that Reality; whose consciousness has struck its roots into the *Atman*, and who consequently is through and through truthful, allowing his innermost being to express itself unhindered."

And—to summarize Keyserling's further argument—the mystic can deny or negative no expression of life whatsoever. In each, in all he sees the Divine Power at work; thus there can be no essential conflict between the crudest Hindu animalism and the purified wisdom of the Rishis: both alike are forms of expression of the One and the Same upon different levels.

No Indian sage, not even Buddha, has ever combatted belief in the Gods ; the majority, above all Shankara, the founder of thorough-going Monism, have themselves honestly believed in them. On the one hand, they were so deeply conscious of the inexpressibility of the God-head as such, and on the other of the endless series of possible manifestations, that in most cases they preferred the manifold and varied forms to the simple, unitary expression. And he concludes : "to me it seems that their multiplicity in its interconnection is really a better expression of what the Indian devotee means, than any simple formula, however pregnant, could possibly be."

"How indeed could our intellectually classified concepts possibly do justice to all the irrational animally-creative putting forth of forms in India. It is not without reason that there exist in Sanskrit more terms for philosophical and religious contents that can be found in Greek, Latin, and German together. General concepts are of use only where the object of knowledge is rational, or can be rationalised ; but this is not the case any where in Indian development. All that is alive in this wondrous country has emerged and grown up purely at haphazard, irresponsibly, out of the living flesh, without purpose or fixed goal. Thus in Indian temples no ground plan can be demonstrated and no unitary idea within the manifold forms of its faith—moreover there is in India no nation; no spirit of the people, and no popular consciousness ; there are no Hindus, indeed, in the sense that there are Germans and English. For syntheses of this kind arise only where Reason rules the becoming of forms, however imperceptibly : where the need for generalization and unification is felt ; and these are lacking in Hindustan."

This must have been written soon after Keyserling landed in India and in the south, for he continues : "To this complete indifference to connection and unity, India owes its unique magnificence of colouring, wherein my heart rejoices more and more each day. I have hardly

travelled in India at all, and yet I have already seen far more variety than any where else among men"

And he goes on to show how, despite all its complexity and development, Hindu logic has never been able *effectively* to dominate even the unfoldment of philosophical and still less of religious thought.

For, as metaphysicians, the Hindus saw too deeply and knew with absolute certainty that the logical understanding does not and cannot reach to the real root of things. Thus the Hindus have never been "Rationalists" in the western sense; and this is one of the greatest lessons, the most pregnant examples which India's people have given to Humanity. For they have shown that the very fullest measure of the power of understanding does not *necessarily* culminate in Rationalism; and further that the highest and fullest measure of logical acumen and insight does not *necessarily* destroy simple naivety.

And discussing the great Epics, Mahabharata and Ramayana, he points out that the clue to their real understanding lies in the realization of the facts that to the Hindus meaning and significance are everywhere and always far *more* real than *Fact*, and far more vital and important than History.

Keyserling has much, much more of interest and significance to say about things Indian; but we must take our leave of him here, for the present at any rate, with a final quotation from a dialogue which he imagines himself to be holding with the spirit of Indian Wisdom in the form of the Mahaguru—the Great Teacher—who thus addresses him:—

"Be not deceived by Maya! The Goddess of your western science and knowledge! Her greatest pitfall is precisely the fact that what she creates always holds its own against the criticism of the understanding. But what can be demonstrated is never essential being, the true reality. What can be proven, demonstrated, passes away, or transforms itself into some new, fresh matter of proof, deceiving

the unwary about the true reality in each fresh form and shape with equal success."

"True indeed that imaginations are equally Maya! they have however the advantage over the physical, bodily world, that they exhibit their real nature more honestly and frankly than it does; and moreover they afford a more plastic medium for the expression of meaning."

"How remote are your wise men from the heart of reality! They have brains, such as perhaps no Hindu ever possessed. But instead of seeking with them after meaning, after significance, they waste the precious time of their human births upon the studies of futile unreality and then dream that they have achieved something marvellous, when their results constitute objective knowledge! Naturally and of course they are objective; but at the same time they are devoid of meaning!"

"Look at my Hindus, on the other hand: they know nothing of exact research; they never find themselves at home in the realms of Maya: too often indeed they are failures in this world. But instead thereof their souls stand widely open to all possible influences of meaning, of significance, and they all tread the road which leads to Freedom."

BERTRAM KEIGHTLEY.

IV—The Duel.

The next eight years I passed at the Petrograd Military Academy. In my new surroundings, although nothing faded completely from my memory, many of childhood's impressions grew dim, and the new habits and opinions that took their place, transformed me into an absurd, cruel, almost savage being. The outer gloss of courtesy and polite manners I did indeed acquire along with the French language, but in common with all my school fellows I regarded our soldier servants as inferior animals, and being the most impressionable boy in the school, I was, perhaps, also the most overbearing. By the time we left school as officers we were ready to lay down our lives for the honour of our regiment, but of the real meaning of honour we knew nothing. True honour, indeed, had we known its meaning, would have been matter for our ridicule, whereas we gloried in drinking, debauchery, and daredevilry. I do not say that we were evil. We were all well meaning young fellows, but our conduct was wicked, and I, chiefly because I had come into money and had plunged with all the recklessness of youth into a life of self-gratification, was the worst of the lot.

At that time I was a great reader and although the Bible was the one book I almost never opened, something kept me from parting with it and I carried it about with me everywhere. Verily, though I knew it not, I was keeping that book "for the day and the hour, the month and the year."

After four years of this kind of life I found myself stationed with my regiment in the town of K. The people who formed the large and varied society of that town, were rich, hospitable, and gay, and my own natural gaiety and

reputation for wealth (which as you know goes a very long way in the world) secured me a cordial welcome everywhere.

Then came the turning point in my life. I became intimate with a beautiful and accomplished girl of a rare and noble nature, whose parents were people of considerable wealth, influence, and standing in the town. They always made me heartily welcome at their house and, what set my heart on fire, I fancied that their daughter regarded me with favour.

In after days I realised that I had, perhaps, not been so passionately in love with her as I had thought, but had been simply inspired with the reverence due to her rare qualities of mind and character. Selfish motives, moreover, kept me at that time from asking her to marry me, for I could not bear the idea of giving up the free and dissolute life of a well-to-do young bachelor and so, though I did drop certain hints, I delayed taking the decisive step. Then, without warning, I was sent on two months' duty to another district. On my return I found her married to a rich neighbouring landowner who, though many years my senior, was still young, who, unlike me, moved in the best Petrograd society, and who was possessed of a charm and better than that of a culture to which I could lay no claim.

This unexpected blow combined with the news that the two had long been engaged, completely stunned me. I had often met the young landowner at their house, but in the blindness of my conceit I had noticed nothing, and it particularly mortified me to realize that I alone had been ignorant of what the whole world knew.

I was furious. Hot with shame I began to go over the many times I had been on the point of declaring my love and concluded that, as she had never stopped or warned me, she had been laughing at me all the time. On later reflection, of course, I remembered that she had been very far from laughing at me, but had always lightly interrupted my love making and changed the subject. But I failed to see that then and burned for revenge.

Yet strangely enough my wrath and thirst for vengeance were burdensome to me because my easy-going nature made it very difficult for me to be angry with anyone for long. I had to keep goading myself to the task and eventually became warped and simply ridiculous. I bided my time, however, and at length, on what seemed to be a side issue, succeeded in insulting my 'rival' before a large company of people. I ridiculed his view of an important contemporary event (it was the year 1826) and my hit was considered both witty and effective. Then I forced him to demand an explanation and in giving it, behaved so rudely that, despite the great difference in our age, rank, and standing, he accepted my challenge.

I afterwards learned that he did so because he was no less jealous of me than I of him. He had been a little jealous of me on his wife's account before marriage and now he fancied that if she found out that he had swallowed an insult from me without calling me out, she would begin to despise and cease to love him.

I had no difficulty in inducing one of my fellow subalterns to act as my second, for duelling, notwithstanding the very severe penalties against it, was in those days almost the fashion in military circles. So persistent and deep-rooted are our savage instincts !

It was now the end of June and our meeting was to take place the following morning on the outskirts of the town.

That night decided my fate. I had returned home in the evening in a savage humour, and in a moment of annoyance with my servant Afanasy, I struck him twice with all my force in the face, so that it was covered with blood. Afanasy had not been long with me, and though I had struck him before I had never done so with such brutality. It happened forty years ago, but believe me dear friends, I cannot recall the scene now without shame and anguish. I went to bed, slept for about three hours, and awoke as day was breaking. I could sleep no more. I arose and opened the

window that opened on the garden. The sun was rising, it was warm and beautiful, and the birds were singing.

Why, I pondered, do I feel myself so base and vile? Is it because I am about to shed blood? No, I do not think it is that. Is it because I am afraid to die, afraid of being killed? No, that is not the reason, it is not that at all, and all at once the truth flashed upon me: it was because I had struck Afanasy.

The whole scene in every detail came back to me in a new light. He stands before me. He holds himself strictly to attention, arms down, head erect, eyes fixed upon me as on parade. The blows stagger him, yet he does not even raise his arms to protect himself. It is a man who has been brought to this, and it is a man who is beating his fellowman.

The thought stabbed me. I stood dumbfounded and the dear sun was shining, the bright leaves rejoicing, and the birds, the little birds even, were praising God. Burying my face in my hands, I threw myself on the bed and wept bitterly.

Then I remembered my brother Markel and the words that he spoke on his death-bed to his servants: "My dear ones, why do you serve me, why do you love me, am I worth it?" "Yes, am I worth it," echoed in my heart. In very truth wherein am I worthy that a fellowman made like me in the image of God should serve me?" That thought for the first time in my life forced itself upon me. "Dear Mother mine," my brother had gone on to say, "verily each one of us is responsible to all men and for all men, only we do not know it. If man but knew this, there would be heaven upon Earth."

"Oh, God," I thought weeping, "surely this too is not false. In truth, it may be that I, more than any man, am responsible for all and chief of sinners in this world." And all at once the whole truth and significance of what I was about to do, was borne in upon me. I was going forth to kill a good, able, noble man, who had done me no wrong and by depriving his wife of happiness for ever I should be

torturing and killing her too. I lay prone on my bed, my face buried in the pillow and time passed unheeded.

My second arrived with the pistols to fetch me. "Good," he said, "you are up, it is time, come along!" In an agony of indecision I hurried to and fro but eventually accompanied him to the carriage.

"Wait here a moment," I said to him then, "I'll be back in a second, I have forgotten my purse," and I ran back alone to Afanasy's little room.

"Afanasy," I said, "yesterday I struck you on the face twice, forgive me." He started as if afraid and gazed at me in amazement. It was not enough and so, just as I was, in full officer's uniform I bowed myself to the ground before him.

It was now his turn to stand dumbfounded.

"Your honour, Sir, what are you doing.....am I worth it? and just as I had done he burst into tears and, burying his face in his hands, turned, shaken by his sobbing, to the window.

I rushed out to my comrade, jumped into the carriage, and off we went.

"Have you ever seen a conqueror before," I shouted, "for you see one now," and in the highest spirits I laughed and talked, I don't remember about what, the whole way.

"You are a plucky fellow," said he looking at me, "the uniform won't be disgraced by you."

When we reached the spot our opponents were there waiting. The lot of first shot fell to my rival and we took up our positions twelve paces apart, I stood looking at him gaily and lovingly full in the face, for I now knew what I would do. His shot just scratched my cheek and grazed my ear.

"Thank God! no one has been killed," I cried, and turning about I took my pistol and threw it far into the wood with a shout of "that's the place for you." I turned again to my adversary.

"Sir," I said, "forgive me for a young fool who has gratuitously insulted you, and has but now forced you to fire at him. You are ten times and more the better man. Tell that to her whom you hold dearest in the world."

At this all three began to shout at me.

"Why on earth," began my adversary thoroughly annoyed, "did you cause all this trouble, if you did not mean to fight?"

"Yesterday," I made answer gaily, I was a fool and I only came to my senses to-day."

"As to yesterday I believe you," said he, "but it is difficult to agree about to-day."

"Bravo," I shouted clapping my hands, "there you are right again, I deserve it."

"Now, Sir, will you fire or not," he demanded.

"No, I won't," I said, "you can fire again if you like but it would be better not to."

The seconds were also shouting, especially mine.

"How can you disgrace the regiment like this, asking pardon in the course of a duel. If I had only known!"

I stood there before them all no longer laughing, and said gravely: "Gentlemen, is it really so extraordinary in these days to find a man repent of his folly and make public confession of his wrong doing."

"Yes, but not in the duel," cried my second again.

"But that is just what is extraordinary," I answered, "for I ought to have owned up as soon as I got here, before a shot had been fired, before I had made him commit a deadly sin, but, so grotesque are our conventions, that to have acted in that way would have been almost impossible. Only after I had faced his fire at twelve paces could my words mean anything to him. If I had spoken before, he would have said: "he is simply a coward whom the pistols have scared."

"Gentlemen," I said with conviction, "look around you on the gifts of God, the clear sky, pure air, tender grass, the little birds. Nature is beautiful and sinless. We

alone are godless and foolishly unable to understand that life is heaven. We have only to wish to understand that and heaven will draw near in all its beauty, and we shall embrace each other with tears." I would have said more but could not, so overpowered was I by the sweetness and freshness that flooded my heart with a blissful happiness I had never known before.

"That is all very true and edifying," said my adversary, "and you are certainly unconventional and original."

"Laugh away," I said laughing too, "you will come to approve of what I have done."

"I am ready to do that now," said he. "I believe you to be genuinely sincere and would like to shake hands with you."

"No, that would be idle," I said. "In time to come, when my better actions have earned me your regard, then offer me your hand and it will be well."

On the return journey my second upbraided me the whole way. My only reply was to kiss him. No sooner had my fellow officers been informed than they assembled to pass judgment on me that very day. The general opinion was that I had disgraced my uniform and must resign my commission. Some indeed, stood up for me, insisting that I had faced fire without flinching. "Yes," said the others, "but he feared to face more than one shot and in the course of the duel begged his opponent's pardon."

"If he had been afraid to face a second shot," my defenders retorted, "he would have fired his own pistol, whereas he threw it loaded, as it was, into the wood. That was strange, if you like, but it was not cowardice."

I listened and looked on glad at heart.

"Dear friends and comrades," I said, "do not worry about my resignation, because I have already sent in my papers, and as soon as I am allowed, I shall retire to a monastery. That is why I am seeking my discharge."

At this they all burst out laughing with one accord.

"You should have told us this at the beginning, they said. It settles everything. We cannot pass sentence on a monk, you know, " and they gave full vent to their laughter, not now in scorn, but kindly and cheerily. All of them, even my most rabid accusers took me to their hearts from that moment and all that month till my discharge arrived, made a special pet of me.

Every one had a kindly word for me.

"O you monk," they would laugh, or they would express regret at the sacrifice I was about to make, and would try to dissuade me from my purpose, or they would defend me saying :

" No, he is our brave comrade, he faced the shot and could have fired himself, but it came to him in a dream the night before, that he should become a monk, and that is why he acted as he did."

Our friends in the town adopted a similar attitude. Formerly a welcome guest everywhere, no special attention had been paid to me, but now, all at once, every one vied in showering invitations upon me. They all laughed at me, but they loved me.

I should mention here that, though the duel was openly discussed everywhere, the authorities took no official notice of it. As my adversary was the general's near kinsman, as the duel had passed off without bloodshed or serious consequence, and finally as I had resigned my commission, they agreed to treat the whole matter as a joke.

Regardless of the general laughter, which was always kindly and never malicious, I began to express myself openly and fearlessly. These discussions took place chiefly in the evenings when ladies were present. They loved to listen to me and they made the men pay attention.

" How can I be responsible for all men ?" they would laugh at me. " Can I really be responsible for you ?"

"How," I made answer, " can you possibly understand that you are when the whole world has long thought and acted otherwise, when we count the veriest lies as true, and

demand similar lies from our neighbours ? Here have I for once in my life acted sincerely and at once you take me for a madman. You have indeed taken me to your hearts, but you see how you all laugh at me."

"But how can we help taking a person like you to our hearts," said my hostess laughing in the crowded room.

Then suddenly she, on whose account the duel had been fought, and whom so recently I had hoped to make my bride, rose from among the ladies, (I had not noticed her arrival), approached me and held out her hand.

"Let me tell you," she said, "that I am the first not to laugh at you. On the contrary with tears I thank you and declare my respect for you and for your action. Her husband came up too, and then they all gathered round me and almost kissed me. In my general happiness my chief attention was concentrated on the person of a certain middle aged gentleman, who joined the circle about me. I knew him by name already, but I had never met or exchanged a word with him till that evening.

H. S. WALKER.

THE WAR AND THE INDIAN EXCHANGE SITUATION.

The gold Exchange standard as evolved in India had, before the outbreak of the last devastating world war, many admirers and still many more critics. The exponents of the system including amongst others some thoughtful economists like Professors J. M. Keynes, W. F. Spalding, and the late Professor Conant thought that it was the ideal to which the currency system of every progressive country should approximate.

The principle underlying the Gold Exchange Standard is very simple. The success and stability of the system depend upon the Government keeping sufficient reserves of coined rupees, to enable them to exchange international currency for local currency, and adequate resources in gold and sterling securities to convert local currency into international currency, at a stable rate of exchange, when they are called upon to do so.

During the long period (1900-1914) the Government adopted every reasonable precaution to fight the danger of a break-down of the system under the stress of Falling Exchange and the success which attended their efforts to meet the great crisis of 1908 produced considerable optimism in this country.

It was asserted that the Gold Exchange Standard was proof against the danger of Falling Exchange provided sufficient liquid resources in gold were made available in London, the place where all gold remittances would have to be made. None of the theorists and doctrinaires, who claimed to have discovered in it all the essentials which went to make the ideal currency system, could anticipate the situation created by the war, with its huge balance of trade in favour of India, and the obligation of the Government to convert international currency into local currency, at a fixed rate of Exchange, in settlement of the uncancelled balance of indebtedness.

An attempt will be made in the following pages to examine how far the Indian Exchange stood the onslaught of the war and how far the anticipations of the admirers of the system have been realized.

The outbreak of the great war had a disastrous effect on Indian trade conditions. During the eight war months August to March 1914-15 exports fell off by 43 per cent. and imports by 34 per cent. For the time being, the balance of trade became unfavourable, but the Government soon came to the rescue and undertook to support exchange. They offered for sale sterling drafts on London up to a maximum limit of 1 million a week. In all, bills and T. Ts. were sold to the extent of 8·7 millions. These measures restored confidence and the Exchange Situation was reversed. In 1915-16 trade readjusted itself to the new conditions brought about by the war, and a sort of unstable equilibrium was established There was a renewed trade activity and Council bills were in great demand. Since 1916-17 India began to take a prominent part in the manufacture of munitions of war and export of various commodities necessary for the successful prosecution of the war.

Heavy disbursements were made in India on behalf of the Home Government and other Dominion Governments. The following figures will show the extent and importance of the commitments of the Home Government:—

1916-17	...	...	38	Millions	£
1917-18	...	...	66	,,	,,
1918-19	...	...	76	,,	,,
1919-20	...	...	67	,,	,,

These heavy disbursements coupled with the contraction of imports from England were responsible for the large balance of trade during the five years ending March 31, 1919, amounting to 254 millions. This huge balance was partially settled by the net import of funds (Council drafts) to the extent of 100 millions and a very small import of treasure of 36 millions.

In the five years ending 31st March 1914 the total excess of exports over imports was 262 millions which was liquidated to the extent of 142 millions by net import of funds and by the import of 120 millions in treasure. This small import of treasure during the war period—36 millions—as against 120 millions in the pre-war period, requires some explanation and was in reality the chief cause of the subsequent enormous demand for rupees and the steady rise in Exchange. In normal years this balance of trade would have been liquidated by the export of treasure from England to India but the war made this impossible. The export of gold to India was stopped owing to the necessity of conserving the gold resources of the Empire, and in July 1917 the import of silver into India on private account was prohibited with a view to do away with all private competition with the Secretary of State in the London Money Market.

The consequence was that the demand for the only other alternative mode of remittance to India namely Council Bills became very keen.

There were also other forces at work which augmented the demand for rupees.

The heavy war expenditure to which the Government were committed was sought to be partly covered by raising War Loans in India and by issuing Treasury Bills to the Indian Paper Currency Reserve, a part of which is held in London. The Indian Banks subscribed to these War Loans and Treasury Bills, and paid for the purchases by extending credits to Government who issued cheques against the balances with which they were credited. These cheques were taken by War contractors and other creditors of the Government to their Banks. The consequence was that the deposits of Indian Banks were swollen. Since the cheques which were handed over to different Banks were treated as cash their proportion of cash to deposits also increased and the increase being in excess of their normal requirements, the Banks had enough loanable capital at their disposal,

which they again invested in War Loans, Treasury Bills, and advances to customers. Thus the total volume of credit increased by several times the original loan. This process has been admirably shown in the Report of the Cunliffe Committee on "Currency and Foreign Exchange after the War"

The vast credit superstructure together with the heavy drawings of the Secretary of State were the real causes of the unprecedented rise in prices which again increased the demand for currency. Thus a vicious circle was started in which each in turn created a demand for the other.

The requirements of the Secretary of State on account of Home Charges and Railway Capital Expenditure were more than met from repayments by the Home Government of War disbursements made on their account in India. The amount of Council Bills which the Secretary of State could offer was strictly limited by the depleted stock of rupees in Cash Balances and Paper Currency Reserve in India. The Secretary of State was faced with the necessity of making large purchases of silver, but from the beginning of 1916, the price of silver began to rise. From a pre-war level of 26*d.* per standard ounce, it rose to 31$\frac{1}{16}$*d.* in 1916, 40$\frac{7}{8}$ in 1917-18, 47$\frac{9}{16}$ in 1918-19. Several factors operated to bring about this rise, *e.g.*, the falling off of Mexican silver production, keen competition amongst European countries for silver as a metallic cover for their inflated Paper Currencies, intelligent anticipation by silver and bullion brokers of Indian requirements and lastly a heavy depreciation in the dollar sterling Exchange. America being the principal silver-producing country in the world, the price of silver is determined in terms of the dollar. Consequently a rise in the sterling value of the dollar means a rise in the price of silver even though the dollar price remains the same.

The steady rise in the price of silver made purchases of silver on the part of the Secretary of State more and more expensive and ultimately led to a divorce of the rate of Exchange from the pre-war rate of 16*d.* per rupee. In 1917 the demand for Council Bills became so great that

the Secretary of State was offered 1*s.* 5*d.*, but in order to avoid a rise in the rate of Exchange, he entered into an arrangement with the Exchange Banks by which they agreed to sell Bills at 1*s.*-4½*d.* being in turn insured against all loss resulting from the investment of their funds in Indian Exchange. This rate could not be maintained for a long time. In 1917 the United States of America adopted a system of rationing its silver stocks and prohibited its export except under licence. It stopped the rise in the price of silver for sometime. But the price continued to soar upward, and in April 1918 the rate of exchange had to be raised to 1*s.*-6*d.*, in order to prevent the rupees in circulation in India from being exported and sold as bullion. The silver position of the Government was at this time very critical. Their rupee balances had sunk very low owing to heavy drawings of the Secretary of State to meet the requirements of trade. By the end of March 1918, the rupee balances had come down to 10½ crores, and by the first week of June 1918, they had sunk to the trifling sum of 4 crores: Government were now confronted with the unavoidable necessity of declaring currency notes inconvertible and suspending payment in rupees. Thanks, however, to the good offices of Lord Reading, the then British Ambassador in Washington, an enactment was passed by the American Government known as the Pittman Act under which 270 millions ounces of silver which were kept in deposit against silver dollar certificates were to be withdrawn from circulation, and India was to receive 200 million ounces out of that. The news of this arrangement did much to remove the panic in Indian bazars, and at the same time strengthen the silver position of Government.

But the price of silver continued to rise and the rate of Exchange had to be raised to 1*s.*-8*d.* in May 1919, in August to 1*s.*-10*d.*, in September to 2*s.*, and in November to 2*s.*-2*d.*

The rise in the rate of Exchanges caused an unprecedented sensation and is best explained by a careful study of the silver prices prevailing in the successive months of 1919.

The following table will show the steady rise in the price of silver in 1919-20.

[*Vide* Report of the Currency Department of Government of India].

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1919-20.	Highest.	Lowest.	Average.
April ..	49 9/16*d.*	48 9/16	48 7/8
May ..	58*d.*	48 9/16	52 1/16
June ..	54 7/8*d.*	53	53 29/32
July ..	55 9/16*d.*	53	54 1/8
August ..	61 3/4*d*	55 3/4	58 27/32
September ..	64*d.*	59	61 11/16
October ..	66½*d.*	62 3/4	64 1/6
November ..	76*d.*	65 1/3	70 1/6
December ..	79 1/8*d.*	73 1/8	76 7/16
January 1920 ..	85*d.*	75 7/8	79 27/32
February ..	89½*d.*	82	85
March ..	84*d.*	65	74 3/16

In February 1920 silver rose to 89½ per standard ounce. This was the maximum point reached. It must however be said to the credit of Government of India and the Secretary of State for India that they tried their best to relieve the strain on rupee balances.

Firstly, by encouraging the use of gold when it was found that gold was distinctly cheaper than silver as an internal medium of Exchange. Earlier during the war, the Government refused to issue gold to private persons and discouraged the use of gold by every means. By the Gold Import Act of 1917 all gold imported on private account was acquired by Government, and was transferred to the Paper Currency Reserve, a corresponding amount of notes being issued against it to the importers. Sovereigns amounting to 5 millions were also issued to finance the purchase of wheat in the Punjab and United Provinces on behalf of the Royal Wheat Commission. In 1918 a considerable amount of gold bullion which was acquired from the holdings of the Bank of England at Bombay was sold.

Lastly, gold mohurs were issued, and in 1918 a Branch of the Royal Mint was established in Bombay which coined sovereigns in considerable quantities.* But the sovereigns and mohurs disappeared from circulation as soon as they made their appearance. Gold was at such a high premium that it simply passed out of circulation being sold as a commodity.

Secondly, yet another measure was adopted to relieve the strain on rupee balances by putting vast quantities of paper money into circulation. The heavy war disbursements made by the Government of India on behalf of the Home authorities made it possible for them to issue large quantities of paper money. The war expenses were partly met out of the receipts of various Indian War Loans and partly by the handing over of British Treasury Bills in London to be held as a part of the Paper Currency Reserve against which Currency Notes were issued in India. The total amount of British Treasury Bills held in the Paper Currency Reserve on the 31st March 1919 was 55 millions. In addition to this, since 1919 investments were made in India in Indian Treasury Bills against which also Currency Notes were issued.

Moreover by giving effect to the recommendations of the Chamberlain Commission regarding the granting of increased facilities for the encashment of notes in different treasuries and branches of Presidency Banks and by the issue of notes of smaller denominations the circulation of Paper Currency was popularised to a very considerable extent. From 66 crores in 1914 the gross circulation of notes went up to 100 crores in 1918. In 1919 the circulation reached the phenomenal figure of 153 crores. But this absorption was not voluntary. The notes were in reality forced upon the people. Facilities for the encashment of notes were withdrawn and notes were convertible only in the three Presidency Towns of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. The movement of specie by rail, steamer, or post was declared a punish-

* Cf. Shirras "Indian Finance and Banking" p. 80.

able offence. It is a well-known economic maxim that so long as Paper Currency is freely and voluntarily accepted by the people there can be no economic loss, but no sooner is it forced upon the people than it is fraught with the gravest risk. The result was, as could be foreseen, a considerable discount on Paper Currency and a scramble for gold and rupees.

So far we have confined ourselves to a study of the Course of Exchanges as affected by the unprecedented rise in the price of silver. It is true that the rise could not be foreseen and consequently no adequate safeguards could have been taken at the very outset. But it nevertheless remains true that a system, which has to depend so much on the human factor, and so little on automatic adjustment, which is the characteristic feature of every good Currency System, can hardly be sound.

The situation was so uncertain that the Government thought it advisable to take expert advice in the matter, and in 1919 appointed a Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Henry Babington Smith to enquire into the effect of the War on Indian Exchange and Currency and to recommend steps for maintaining a stable Gold Exchange Standard.

The main recommendations of the Committee were as follows:—

(1) That the rupee should be linked to gold (dollar) and not to the pound sterling which had depreciated considerably.

(2) That the stable relation to be established between the rupee and gold should be at the rate of Rs. 10 to one sovereign, or in other words, at the rate of one rupee for 11·30016 grains of fine gold both for Foreign Exchange and internal circulation. The recommendations of the Committee were mainly based on the following findings, *viz.*:—

(*a*) That in view of the high price of silver high exchange is essential for a sound Currency System in India and that High Exchange is on the whole advantageous to India on economic grounds.

(*b*) That the Exchange value of the rupee should be fixed in terms of gold instead of in paper pound sterling.

The only Indian Member in the Committee Mr. Dadiba Dalal, a leading bullion broker of Bombay, wrote a very able minute of dissent in which he took strong exception to departing from the 1s.-4*d.* basis. It appears in the light of later events, that Mr. Dalal had more practical knowledge of the bullion market than all the other Members put together.

In arriving at the first finding, the Committee took into consideration the prevailing gold price of silver (62·9*d.* gold) per standard ounce, and that of the bullion value of the silver content in the rupee, which at the prevailing rate was equivalent to 1s.-11-36*d.* (gold.) The Committee also thought that the upper limit to the rise of the price of silver had been reached. Nor was the price of silver likely to fall much in view of the provision in the Pittman Act under which the U. S. A. government undertook to purchase all available silver produced in the U. S. A. and tendered to it at one dollar per standard ounce. In this forecast the Committee were sadly mistaken.

The price of silver per ounce rose to 73$\frac{1}{8}$*d.* in December 1919, 75$\frac{7}{8}$*d.* in January 1920, 82d in February 1920, whereas the committee counted on the price fluctuating at or about 62·9*d.* gold.

On the other hand after June 1920 the gold price of silver fell very heavily owing to a remarkable recovery of the dollar sterling Exchange, the price of silver falling to 52*d.* per standard ounce. Thus the main ground for fixing the rate of Exchange at 2*s.* gold was taken away.

The next question as to whether High Exchange is beneficial for India or not is highly controversial. The Committee thought that a High Exchange would not seriously hamper the export trade and that the loss would be only temporary pending adjustment of wages and other costs of production to the new conditions. On the other hand High Exchange would check any further rise of prices in India.

For an agricultural country like India which exports large quantities of raw materials High Exchange is prejudi-

cial as has been admitted even by the late Finance Member Sir William Meyer in his speech in connection with the Financial Statement for 1918-19. This is what he said " . . . I am aware that a rise in Exchange would in ordinary conditions be prejudicial to export trade . . . consequently we embark on any such action with the greatest reluctance and simply to prevent greater evils." The opinion of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce was definitely against fixing a high rate of Exchange precisely on the above ground. It is true that High or Low Exchanges are by themselves of little importance in determining or affecting the economic good of any particular country. Wages and prices of raw materials and other costs will adjust themselves in the long run. Consequently in an economically developed country High or Low Exchanges are of no greater significance than that they cause some temporary losses or gains which tend to disappear, when a new equilibrium has been established. But in a country like India, which is economically very backward and where the full play of economic forces is retarded, the loss or gain from High or Low Exchange may persist for an inconveniently long time. The Committee failed to take proper cognizance of this difference in the economic conditions of India.*

The second finding on which the Committee based their recommendations was that the balance of advantage lay in favour of linking up rupees to the dollar instead of to the pound sterling. During the war the paper pound sterling had become practically inconvertible. Consequently sterling had depreciated considerably in terms of the dollar. The Committee thought that if the rupee were linked up to sterling it would be subject to all the disadvantages attaching to a depreciated paper currency. Moreover if sterling depreciated still further the sterling price of silver would rise higher and higher.

Fluctuating exchange makes a gamble of International trade. But it must be remembered that a stable exchange is

* Cf. Panandikar's Economic Consequences of the War for India, pp. 363-64.

not *the* panacea for all our monetary ills; while reviewing the Chamberlain Commission's Report in 1914 Prof. Nicholson very ably put the question thus: " . . . in all various changes the dominant force whether in modification or initiation has been the stability of the Foreign Exchange value of the rupee in relation for gold. Does it follow because the stability of the gold (sterling) price of the rupee has been established for purposes of Foreign Exchange that therefore it may be taken for granted, that all other functions of good money are fulfilled by the rupee as managed?"

The Committee failed to give due weight to the fact that fixity of exchange value of currency never means fixity of purchasing power which should be the ultimate goal of all currency reformers. This point has been so ably discussed by the eminent Swedish Economist Dr. Gustav Cassel in the pages of the *Economic Journal* that it needs no recapitulation here. Had the Committee fixed the rate of Exchange with an eye to the "purchasing power parity" between India and England, they would never have recommended the rate of 2*s*. (gold), as the real purchasing power parity was considerably below that rate.

Assuming that the Committee, the members of which were practical bankers and financiers, did not believe in the theories of that brilliant Swedish Economist, it might still he argued that they ignored the great advantage of fixing Exchange in terms of sterling. India's trade was mainly with sterling using countries. Moreover if England were to remain a solvent country, and if she wanted to have a commanding voice in the International money market, her sterling was bound to recover after some time.

With the acceptance of these recommendations by the Government of India we enter into another phase of the Exchange situation. The fixing of the rate of Exchange at 2*s*. gold and the readiness of Government to sell Reverse Bills on that basis were followed by a good deal of speculation, uncertainty, and nervousness in business quarters. Simultaneously with the acceptance of these

recommendations, owing to a heavy depreciation of dollar-sterling Exchange, the silver price rose to 89½*d.* per standard ounce, and Exchange rose from 2*s.*-4*d.* to 2*s.*-11*d.* There was a considerable demand for Reverse Bills and the Balance of trade for the time being became unfavourable. The demand for Reverse Bills was mostly due to the operations of the speculators who clearly saw that Exchange was bound to fall in the near future as the price of silver had already reached its maximum limit, and that the dollar sterling Exchange was bound to recover in view of the perfectly solvent condition of England. They found in the abnormal rise of exchange an opportunity of making considerable profits by transferring their funds to England and bringing them back to India when Exchange fell again. Many Companies of English domicile carrying on their business in India had accumulated huge profits during the war. They too wanted to transfer their funds to England owing to the unsettled political conditions prevailing in India at the time. They found the high Exchange very advantageous whereby they could transfer their funds to England on favourable terms. Altogether 55 millions of sterling drafts were sold and still the demand remained unsatisfied. In June 1920, owing to the recovery of dollar sterling Exchange, the price of silver declined to 52*d.* and Exchange came down to 2*s.* (sterling). By the end of June 1920 Government gave up all attempts at fixing the Exchange value at 2*s.* gold. As soon as the Government stopped the sale of Reverse Drafts Exchange fell considerably and in 1921 June to February it fell to 1*s.*-3½*d.*

When Government started selling Reverse Drafts at 2*s.*-11*d.* there was a storm of protest from Bombay, Calcutta, and other commercial centres. The Government in reply pointed out that they were carrying out the recommendations of the Smith Committee. It was admitted on all hands that the country had lost 35 crores of rupees in this way. The balances which the Secretary of State had accumulated at 15 Rs. per £ were dissipated and given away at 7½ Rs.

per £. Large Indian business houses were involved in serious losses. The acceptance of the recommendations of the Smith Committee was interpreted by Indian merchants as a guarantee to maintain the rate of Exchange at 2*s.* (gold). Large indents for goods were placed with foreign shippers and by the time the goods had arrived exchange had fallen considerably. Naturally they turned to Government for help, but the Finance Member declined to accept any responsibility in the matter and repudiated all idea of guarantee on the part of Government. The business houses and trading firms were faced with the necessity of repudiating contracts wholesale as the only alternative to going into liquidation. The unprecedented sale of Sterling Drafts also caused a tightness and stringency in the money market. Many houses found it impossible to meet their obligations and wound up their affairs. Such in short is the story of the sale of Reverse Drafts.

[*To be continued.*]

B. N. CHATTERJI.

THE STRATAGEM OF ISIS.

(From Egyptian Mythology.)

Now Isis, heavy at heart and weary grown
Of this sad earth and sadder ways of men,
Bethought her of a scheme whereby to win
A place in heaven among the blissful gods.

For could she only by some craft or chance
Discover the unspoken secret Name
Of him that was the Eldest of the gods,
Then by the subtle potency thereof
Over him would she hold such menaced doom
That even her utmost purpose should prevail.

So she abode a moment opportune
In patience till, as it befell one day,
When on his couch the Eldest of the gods
In senile indolence reposed his bulk
From out the corners of his flabby mouth
Flowed droppings of saliva which on earth
The watchful Isis catching in her palm
Kneaded with slime and over it pronounced
Strange rhymes of magic, when to the slow chant
A serpent all its sinuous length uncoiled,
Rearing a gorgeous head and showing fangs
Full of swift death. This creature she with guile
Informed, and in a favourite grove of heaven
Concealed it by a well-frequented path.
Soon after, hither with a heavenly host
Marching in stately-steppèd progress, passed
The hoary god.

But when the serpent shrewd

Spied him approach it stung his naked heel—
A quick deep wound—and fled in haste unseen.
Can over tongue the dire result describe
And with what words? For of all woeful sights
None woefuller than a god in agony.

In his gigantic limbs the venom coursed,
Leaping with querulous malice thro' and thro',
Made ravage of his vitals, in his blood
Caused perceant effervescence, every vein
Swelled on his forehead to portentous size,
And ghastly it was to see his rolling orbs
Perplexed with pain, forth from his lips pale foam
Issuing, and his glorious visage turned
A livid horror. Ghastlier still to hear
His frenzied curses and his clamour loud,
That, as he tossed and tumbled him about,
Echoed and rang thro' the high firmament,
Rending its roof, shaking its ancient base.

Alas! for all his anguish and his groans,
In that wide heaven there was not any help,
From that assembly bright no help at all.

Then wily Isis kneeling at his feet,
With simulated pity in her tone,
Spake, "Noble Father, much it grieveth me
To see thy sore distress, but tell me thou
The hidden Name by which thou art a god,
And I will heal thee instant of thy woe."

The suffering god, loth to reveal his Name,
But fain of succour, artfully replied:
"O daughter, bold thou art as wise and fair,
What thou wouldst know by this same boldness know.
Three appellations have been ever mine
Since Chaos drew a World and Time began:

I am he that is Khepera at dawn,
At noonday Ra, Atem at shut of day."

Alas for shame! that even a mighty god
Should stoop to falsehood in the guise of truth:
Men called him by those apellations three,
But his one Name was veiled from heaven and earth.
In answer to that lie his woe increased:
The seething venom ran a deadlier race,
Travail more tense now seized his gnarled limbs,
Livider waxed his visage, from his pores
There oozed enormous beads of mortal sweat,
With every spasm he gasped and scarce had speech,
For his once mighty voice had feeble grown
And hoarse, with a dread rattle in the throat
Choking up half a curse.

Near was the end
And near, in spite of all the powers of heaven
The dissolution of the god. But he
To save himself from such a carnal fate,
With a wild desperate gesture waved away
The whole celestial host, and bending close
To kneeling Isis, whispered in her ear
The hidden Name by which he was a god.

Then Isis in her triumph used her skill
And in a space of time too swift to count,
The havoc that was done was all undone,
And the great god resumed his former state,
Made hale again and glorious as before.

Thereupon Isis with a quiet smile
Addressed him thus "O hearken to me thou,
It is a gracious custom of the gods
To guerdon them in whom they well pleased are.
Therefore what boon, O liberal Boon-giver,
What boon for me, the healer of thy pain?"

To which responded he: "Crave what thou wilt,
And what thou cravest without stint receive."
Then answered she: "This only do I crave,
Who of the earth am weary: grant me thou
A place in heaven among the blissful gods."

But he, too jealous of his great domain
And bright divinity, still guarded safe
From alien powers and from earthly eyes,
With silent frown demurred at her request.

Then rose indignant Isis and exclaimed:
"Father, this hesitancy doth ill become
Thy godhood. What is more, thou dost reject
My prayer at thine own peril: strong am I
To work thy doom; for knowledge of thy Name
Girds me with an extraordinary power:
I but pronounce the syllable divine
And all thy golden-sceptred empery—
Thine since thy spirit brooded over Nu*—
Passeth from thee forever, and thyself,
Quite fallen from thy high estate, shalt drag
Somewhere in desolation and despair,
A realmless life full of disquiet days.
Choose therefore: grant me thou the boon or else
For ever sunken be."

Thereat the god,
Baffled, but well-concealing his surprise
And virtuous in necessity, replied:
"Forbear, O daughter, overbold in speech
Art thou. To what advantage wilt thou cause
My downfall? for with me all hopes of thine

*The primeval watery abyss of Egyptian mythology.

Perish beyond retrieve. Wherefore secure
Lock in thy breast my Name. I feigned delay
Only to stress the value of the boon.
Most gladly do I grant what thou hast earned
Approach beloved daughter, and be now
The brightest of our splendid hierarchy."

So saying he held out one hand to her,
And there before the re-assembled host
Proclaimed her new admission, and since then
Isis abideth with the blissful gods.

But locked within her breast unspoken dwells
The Name divine still veiled from heaven and earth.

F. F. T. PINTO.

AKBAR'S RELIGION AS SEEN IN HIS HAPPY SAYINGS (دلاویز گفتار شاهنشاهی).

Akbar is a mass of contradictions. He is according to different authorities learned but illiterate,[1] a pious man but not a Muslim,[2] frugal in food and sleep but fond of drink[3] and women[4]; he organized Qamurgahs[5] but prohibited the slaughter of animals,[6] reverenced the sacred stone from Mecca,[7] but desecrated the mosques.[8] Many solutions have been proposed for these inconsistencies and the latest writer, the late Vincent Smith, has on some of them arrived at his own conclusions.[9] Abul Fazl's list of the 'Happy sayings' is supposed to be a collection of the observations made by Akbar at one time or on other.[10] Assuming that they are so and knowing the fact that Abul Fazl was the most intimate philosopher-friend of the monarch, one may conclude that these sayings correctly delineate him.

The sayings, as might be supposed, refer to all sorts of subjects. I shall be content here to pick out only those which throw some light on the monarch's religion.

The religious sayings may be classified under three heads:—

(1) Those which illustrate Akbar's conception of God.

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1 See Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri page 33, Rodgers and Beveridge.

2 V. Smith's Akbar pages 215-16.

3 V. Smith pages 306, 406 Jehangir says in his Tuzuk page 2 'my father in his cups or in his sober moments always called me Shaikhu Baba.' R. & B.

4 Todd's Rajasthan Edited by Crooke page 401.

5 Tabaqat-i-Akbari (Newal Kishore edition) page 278. Elliot and Dowson Vol V, pp 316-17.

6 Badauyuni (Newal Kishore edition) p. 246.

7 T. A. (N K) p. 353, E & D. p. 427.

8 Badauyuni (Translated by Lowe) p. 332.

9 Among others. pp 336, 339, 341, 346, may be read.

10 Abul Fazl begins the chapter with دلاویز گفتار شاهنشاهی and opens with اختتے قدسي کلمات افسر خدیو صورت و معني ثریسدتا گفت و کردارا ، بر دور و نزدیک پیدائے گیرد and introduces every saying with the word میفرمودند.

(2) Those which explain his attitude towards Islam and its Prophets.

(3) Those which show his leanings towards other religions.

Under class (1) the following sayings[1] may be chosen

میفر مودند

(1) طائفهٔ بر آنکه آدمي بر خلاف رضائے الهي رود و سو مایهٔ رستکاري باز گشت آزان طرز نکو هیده و آگاه دل شناسد که کس نیارد سراز فرمان تافت و ازان گذارش پزشکان داروي رنجوران اندیشیده اند

Some there are who maintain that men walk in opposition to the will of God and that their salvation depends on their renunciation of this evil habit. But he who is spiritually illumined knows that none can effectually oppose His commands and physicians from this reflection provide a remedy for those that are sick.

میفر مودند

(2) هرکس ایزد بیچون را باندازه حال خویش بنامي برخواندورنه بے نشان را نام کجاست

Each person according to his condition gives the Supreme Being a name, but in reality to name the unknowable is vain.

(3) The object of an appellative is the removal of ambiguity but this is not predicable of the All Holy Essence.

(4) God is omnipresent ایزد توانا همه برو گرفته.....

(5) All that men account good and bad and virtue and vice arise from the wondrous phases of God's grace; the discordant effects result from human action.

(6) The legend of Satan is an old-world notion. Who has the power to oppose the will of God ?

(7) میفرمودند نقدي که دران ایزدي نام نگارش یافته آنرا بتصدق دادن بس نکوهیده بود

To bestow in alms[2] a coin which bears the impress of the names of God is very reprehensible.

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1 The Persian text has been taken from Newal Kishore Press, Ain-i-Akbari. The translation from Blockmann and Jarrett.

2 تصدق here is not fully equivalent to 'alms.' It means charity which has a selfish object in view, *e.g.*, the removal of evil from the family. Perhaps Akbar meant, God should not be associated with selfishness.

(8) My constant prayer to the Supreme Giver is that when my thoughts and actions no longer please Him, He may take my life, in order that I may not every moment add to His displeasure. میفرمودند همواره از دادار بیهمال دریوزه میبود اگر اندیشه وکردار من پذیرائي نیابد زندگي بر گیر تا نفس نفس نا رضامندي نیفزاید

From the above sayings it is clear that Akbar was a theist of a high order. When Badayuni (and Von Noer also) insinuates that Akbar wished to pose as God and gave as evidence, the stamp اکبر جل جلاله الله on his later coins, we know that he could not read Akbar's mind. Akbar's reasons for the substitution was that the full *kalimah* لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله was too long for a numismatic design and made the coins rather too full of writing. So he preferred the short legend. Akbar answered Haji Ibrahim's objections that other meanings could be made of اکبر and الله being so closely put together, by calling them absurd objections for no man could put himself on an equality with God.[1]

Among the 8 sayings quoted above, attention may of course be drawn to Nos. 2, 3 and 4. From them it is evident that Akbar believed God to be the Sublime Almighty, omnipotent, and omnipresent. This conception of God he inherited from the Sufis, Mahdawis, and Hindus.[2]

No. 7 shows a curious resemblance between Akbar and his great-grandson Aurangzeb. The latter would not im-

1 Badayuni (N. K edit.) p. 204. On p. 233, Badayuni writes :—
و اینهمه باعث دعوے نبوت شد—امانه بلفظ نبوت بلکه بعبارت آخر

Again on p. 241 :—
بادشاه امسال دعوي نبوت کرده است—اگر خدا خواهد پس از سالي خدا خواهد شد

For Von Noer consult Emperor Akbar Vol. II, pp. 237, 274, 288. He based some of his arguments on the phrases ظل خدا-سایه خدا-سایه کردگار (Shadow of God). These phrases simply meant kings by the benediction of God, *e.g.*, in Gulistan Saadi says :—
اقلیم پارس را تم از آسیب دهر نیست—تایر سرش بود چو تو اے سایه خدا

Beveridge correctly interprets Akbar's thoughts on the point, see Akbar Nama (Tr.) p. 2 foot note.

2 Von Noer is conscious of this humility in Akbar, but is misled by the phrase 'Shadow of God' and Blockmann's interpretations.

press the *kalimah* on coins for fear of their falling in to irreverent hands. Akbar would not bestow coins with a selfish motive, for to him the bestowal looked like the giving away of God Himself. This idea he may have gathered from the Hindus, with whom a coin is a token of the Goddess Lakshmi.

A word may be said on No. 6. In the 15th and the 16th centuries a sect had grown up which believed in the spirit of good as well as evil and held both to be eternal; the first as represented by God and the second by Satan. Akbar, because he believed God to be the creator of both good and evil and nothing but He eternal, levelled criticism against this sect.

Under class (2) the following sayings illustrating his attitude towards Islam and also his so-called conception of a new religion, may be selected.

(1) میفرمودند صوري پرستش که آنرا نوآئین الهي برگویند بجهت بیداري غفلتگاهست ورنه ایزدي ستایش از دل بر آید نه از تن The object of outward worship which they affect to call a new divine institute, is for the awakening of slumberers, otherwise the praise of God comes from the heart not the body.

(2) Commending obedience to the dictates of reason and reproving a slavish following of others need the aid of no arguments. If imitation were commendable, the prophets would have followed their predecessors.

(3) Many in the conceit of their imagination and entangled in the thornbrake of a blind assent to tradition, believe themselves to be followers of reason, whereas if it be carefully regarded they are not in its vicinity.

(4) Many simpletons, worshippers of imitative customs, mistake the traditions of the ancients for the dictates of reason and garner for themselves eternal perdition.

(5) خلاف عادت دل عامه بشکرد و دانایے گزیده دلیل نپذیرد The vulgar believes in miracles but the wise man accepts nothing without adequate proof.

(6) پیري درد شناختن بود و بچاره گري نشستن نه موي زنخ [1] فرو هشتن و خرقه را رقعه زدن و بقالی هنگامه آراستن The office of a spiritual

[1] زنخ—ریش (beard) نه موي زنخ فرو هشتن not in growing the beard.

director is to discern the state of the soul and to set about its reform[1] and lies not in growing the locks of an Ethiop and patching a tattered robe and holding formal discourses to an audience.

(7) رهنموني مراد ره نمائي است نه مريد گرد آوري By guidance is meant indication of the road, not the gathering together of disciples.

(8) مريد كردن بايزدگي بندگي آگاه ساختن است نه يكي را پرستار خويش گردانيدن To make a disciple is to instruct him in the service of God not to make him a personal attendant.

(9) كار آنست كه در مردم بوده ازنا بايست بركنار زيد ورنه عزلت گزيني آساني است The difficulty is to live in the world and to refrain from evil[2] for the life of a recluse is one of bodily ease.

(10) ديدن فرمان دهان از ايزدي پرستش داشته اند او را نزبان روزگار ظل‌الله خوانند هر آئينه ديدار او سرمايه ياد كردن ايزديست و سايه از خدارند بار نكرديد The very sight of kings has been held to be part of divine worship. They have been styled conventionally the shadow of God and indeed to behold them is a means of calling to mind the creator and suggests the protection of the Almighty.[3]

(11) دروغ از همه نا خوش و از پادشاهان نكوهيده‌تر—اين گروه راسايه خدا گويند و سايه راست باشد[4] Falsehood is improper in all men and most unseemly in monarchs. This order is termed shadow of God and a shadow should throw straight.

(12) عجب است كه در زمان پيغمبر ما[5] تفسير قرار نكوفت تا دگرگوني راه نيافتي It is strange that in the time of our prophet no commentaries on the Qoran were made so that differences of interpretation might not afterwards arise.

(13) شگفت آنكه امامي از خاك كربلا سبحه برسازد كه پندارند كه خون امام آميخته است It is strange that the Imamis make beads of the

1 Lit. 'remedy.'

2 Lit. that which we ought not to do.

3 A better translation would be 'the shadow points to the original' in this case "to God."

4 Lit. 'shadow is true,' *i.e.*, shadow indicates the existence of something real; راست here means true.

5 Notice the word ما the use shows that Akbar had, at the moment of utterance, full faith in the Prophet.

earth of Karbala and believe that it is mixed with the blood of the Imam.

(14) از مردم بس شگفت آید که خرد سالان راکه از بار فرائض سبک دوش اند سنت ختنه نا گزیر شمرند
It is a remarkable thing that men should insist on the ceremony of circumcision for children who are otherwise excused from the burden of all religious obligations.

(15) پیشتر مردم را بزور در کیش خودمي آوردیم و آنرا مسلماني مهشمردیم چون آگاهی افزود بشرمندگي در شدیم خود مسلمان نا شده دیگرے را بران داشتن ناسزا وانچه بزور میگیرند کي نام دینداري گیرد
Formerly I persecuted men into conformity with my faith and deemed it Islam. As I grew in knowledge, I was overwhelmed with shame. Not being a Muslim myself it was unmeet to force others to become such. What constancy[1] is to be expected from proselytes on compulsion.[2]

(16) کاشکے از خوانندگان رسمي علوم چندین اختلاف بگوش نرسیدي و از فراوان دگر گونگي تفاسیر و احادیث مشگفت زار نیفتادي
Would that we did not hear of such differences of opinion among professors of secular learning nor were confounded by the large number of[3] contradictory commentaries and explanations of tradition.

Of these, the first is interesting for therein Akbar tells us that his innovations look so in external form only and not in essence. His توحید الهي is, according to him, no new religion but only a much needed reform to convince the ignorant. Of course he believed in the sameness of all religions.[4]

This explains Akbar's Islam. He is a rational Muslim and would not blindly follow the Prophets for then, he argued no progress could be made (see sayings Nos. 2, 3 and 4 of this section).

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1 Lit. 'piety.'

2 Instead of "I," make it "we," we persecuted men meaning we, Mohammadans. Similarly 'not being Muslims,' *i.e.*, we Musalmans, do not live as our religion directs,

3 Not in Blochmann's translation.

4 C.F. Abul Fazl's words given in Lane-Poole, M.I, p. 277, expressing Akbar's views.

Against Abul Fazl's slavish assertion that Akbar could work miracles, we have in No. 5, a distinct abhorrence for them.[1] His only guide is, he states, reason and anything in Islam which could not satisfy him, be rejected.[2]

Nos. 6, 7 and 8 throw further light on his religion. Badayuni called it Divine Monotheism[3] and Abul Fazl in Ain 77 ارادت belief or faith.[4] Akbar is a devoted worshipper of the one God and as a king and leader of his men, led them to realize the vastness of the Almighty. Hence his discipleship and توحيد الهي. the rosary or the outward marks on the forehead were meant to attract the vulgar. The four stages of discipleship, *viz.*, sacrifice of property, life, religion, and honour were introduced to indicate the different types of 'chelas.' Akbar in No. 8 definitely says he had, in instituting the Divine path, no personal glorification or expectation of service from his followers.

From Nos. 11 and 12 it is evident that سايه خدا and ظل الله were terms used by people in general and were not invented by him.

No. 15 is a significant saying for therein Akbar says he is not a Muslim, but a slight attention would show that what Akbar wished to indicate was his utter helplessness. He professed Islam, but could not reach the ideal of that reli-

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1 Compare another saying, the meaning of which is not very clear to me. در پرستش حاي هركيش خارق عادتي چند چهرهٔ برافروزد همانا وابستگی دلها چنين كارگراست و گردهٔ حق با يكي بيش نباشد which Blochmann translates as :—

Miracles occur in the temples of every creed. This is the product of mental enthusiasm for the truth can be but with one.

2 In spite of Akbar's ascertions, he was now and then superstitious, *e.g.*, one of his sayings : —

The prophets were all illiterate. Believers should therefore retain one of their sons in that condition.

3 On page 247 (N. K.) Badayuni says و روش خود را بتوحيد الهي موسوم ساختند The phrase دين الهي was used in the official form of initiation to his monotheism, see page 239 (N. K.) But here دين الهي is put in opposition to اسلام مجازي وتقليدي and so دين may well mean path راه روش a meaning given by برهان قاطع *i.e.*, the truly godly path as opposed to the popular Islam.

4 Abul Fazl also uses the phrase آئين ارادت گزينان which may be translated as regulations for the believers in the reforms.

gion. So here we see the penitent, despondent Akbar who pines because his actions do not correspond to his ideal.

In No. 9, Akbar differs both from the tenets of Hinduism and Islam. Either religion—like the Mediæval Christianity—believed in secluded asceticism. But Akbar boldly proclaims its inutility.

The last five indicate Akbar's attitude towards the current Muslim institutions and practices of the day.

Under class (3) come those sayings which illustrate Akbar's inclination towards other religions. The following may be quoted :—

(1) دران سال که بیست بسو آمد لختي بدروني اماره پر داخت و از تهیدستي زاد واپسین راه شگرف دردے دامن دل در گرفت On the completion of my 20th year, I experienced an internal bitterness[1] and from the lack of spiritual provision for my last[2] journey my soul was seized with exceeding sorrow.

(2) دلا ویز سخنان حکمت چندان دلرباست که از همه باز میدارد وبزور از شنود آن‌حود رابر خود میدارم مبادا ناگریر وقت از دست رود Discourses on philosophy have such a charm for me that they distract me from all else and I forcibly restrain myself from listening to them, lest the necessary duties of the hour should be neglected.

(3) اگرچه بر چندین کامروا چیره دست آمدیم و سامان جهانگیري آماده شد چون حقیقي بزرگي رضامندي ایزدیست از دگرگونگي کیش و مذهب دل برنیاساید و از صوري شکوه در ملال بکدام دلخوشي کشور کشائي [3] فراپیش نهد بوئه صاحبدلي فرار شدو حاطر از کشاکش [4] باز رهد Although I am the master of so vast a kingdom and all the appliances of government are to my hand yet since true greatness consists in doing the will of God, my mind is not at ease in this diversity of sects and creeds ; and apart from this pomp of circumstance, with what satisfaction in my despondency can I undertake the

1 حساب-اماره i.e., (account) hence instead of 'I experienced an internal bitterness' the translation should be 'I engaged for a while in taking an account of my internal self.'

2 Lit. واپسین return.

3 Lit. conquest.

4 Both the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Newal Kishore Press editions have کمایش which has no meaning here.

sway of empire ? I await the coming of some discreet man of principle, who will resolve the difficulties of my conscience.

(4) When his understanding is still undeveloped, man is in constant change of mood, at one time taking joy in festivities, at another sitting disconsolate in the house of mourning. When his vision is raised to higher things, sorrow and joy withdraw.

(5) ایزدي عنایت بود که مارا گزین دستورے بدست نیفتاد ورنه دریافتهاے خاطررا از او دانستے It was the effect of the grace of God that I found no capable minister, otherwise people would have considered my measures had been devised by him.[1]

(6) خورشید والا را بفرمان روایان عنایتي است خاص وازین رو ها یشگري بدونمایند و الهي پرستش بر شمرند و کوتاه بین بدگماني در اورند A special grace proceeds from the sun in favour of kings and for this reason they pray and consider it a worship of the Almighty ; but the short-sighted are thereby scandanlised.

(7) عامه بخیال نفعي چگونه خواسته داران سیه درون را بزرگ دارند و از نابینائي در احرام این چشمه نور کوتهي رود و بر نیایشگر زبان پیعاره بر کشانید اگرخودرا آفتي نوسید سورهٔ والشمس چرا از یاد رفت How can the common people possessed only with the desire of gain look with respect upon sordid men of wealth.[2] From ignorance the common people fail in reverence to this fountain of light and reproach him who prays to it. If their understandings were not at fault how could they forget the Surah beginning "By the Sun, etc."

(8) چراغ افروختن بیاد آفتاب در ساختن است هر کرا آفتاب فرو شده باشد گربدو نساردچه کند To light a candle is to commemorate the (rising of) the sun. To whomsoever the sun sets, what other remedy hath he but this.

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1 Another saying, in this connection, may be quoted, اگردریکي نیروي جهانبه قي دریابیم در زمان این گران بار را بردوش او نهادهٔ کنارهٔ گیزینیم If I could but find any one capable of governing the kingdom, I would at once place the burden upon his shoulders and withdraw therefrom.

2 Blochmann seems to have missed the point, Akbar says, (See) how the common people for a small gain flatter the wealthy people. If it is so, should they not show reverence to sun, the giver of light; it is due to ignorance that they do not do so.

(9) سخت رنجوري خردان لختي از تناسخ آگهي دهد Severe illness of the young suggests the doctrine of metempsychosis.

(10) آنکه بر ماوي کتب [1] برگويد که برخي عصيان گراني باستان بصورت بوزنه و خوک بر آمدند باور اوفتد [2] What the Divine books say, that great sinners in ancient time were changed into monkeys and bears, is creditable.

(11) اگر چنين انديشه رود پيکرے چند برساخته نفوس رابدان پيوند دهدوازان برنگذرد [3] بس نکو هيده بود ورنه نيرنگ ساز تقدير اگر درجماد و رستني و جاندار پايه پايه پيوند دهد و نوالا پايگي رساند چه شگفت If the idea were merely that souls were transferred into a few determinate shapes, this would be unworthy, but if the strange workings of destiny joined them to mineral, vegetable and animal life in serial progression till they were exalted to a high dignity, where would be the wonder ?

(12) اگرچه درشکار فراوان ملکي سگا لش رود همانا نخست آنست که جان شکري بهنجاري [4] شود Although hunting suggests analogies of state policy, nevertheless the first consideration is to be sparing in the destruction of life.

(13) جانشکري آنرا سزد که جان دهد وهر که بفرمان خرد بدين کار پردازد آن نهز بيزدان باز گردد The authority to kill should be his who can give life and he who performs this duty at the command of right judgment, does so with reference to God.

(14) اگر دشوار زندگي بخاطر نيامدي مردم را از گوشت خوردن باز داشتمي و آنکه خود بيکبارگي نميگذاريم از انست که بسياري کام نا کام خواهند گذاشت و به تنگناے غم کالبود [5] خواهند شد Were it not for the thought of the difficulty of sustenance, I would prohibit men from eating meat. The reason why I do not altogether abandon it myself is that many others might willingly forego it likewise and be thus cast into despondency.

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1 To which Holy book or books does he refer, and Bible or the Vedas or both ?

2 Lit, some of the great.

3 Blochmann has not translated وازان برنگزرد And does not pass beyond from that state' Akbar believed in the Evolutionary theory of the metempsychosis, hence could not accept the stagnant state of the soul.

4 بهنجار Lit way, method ; Meaning of جان شکري بهنجاري شود is the destruction of life should be according to some method or system (*i.e.*, not whenever whim or self will directs).

5 برگشته or ديرانه مزاج کالبود. 1845

(15) خرد سالان نورسان چمن زار هستي‌اند بايشان گرائيدن بدادارجان آفرين روي آوردن است
Children are the young saplings in the garden of life. To love them is to turn our minds to the Bountiful[1] Creator.

(16) درهند كسے بدعوي پيغمبري برنخاسته از آنست كه دعوى خدائي پيش ميرود
In Hindustan no one has ever set himself up as a prophet. The reason is that pretensions to divinity have superseded it.

Unfortunately among Abul Fazl's collections there is no indication of his views on the Christian or Budhist religions though Badayuni tells us that Akbar took great interest in the Buddhist Sramanas, the Jesuit Fathers (پادهري) of God[2] and Parsees of Nausari[3] in Gujrat. From the above sayings, we see that Akbar favoured the fire-worshippers (Hindus, Jains, and Parsees) and the belivers in metempsychosis.

The saying No. 1 informs us that Akbar felt a spiritual yearning as early as 1562 when he was only 20 years of age. The incident of Akbar sparing Hemu's life when the former was only 14, as given in Badayuni and the Akbarnama[4] may or may not be true.[5] But there seems no reason why we should not believe in the spiritual awakening that Akbar felt. Asoka felt the same after his return from the conquest of Kalinga. The year 1562 and those following it are remarkable years in the Emperor's life. He had already shown his magnanimity towards Bairam two years before, but now from 1562 onwards is unfolded before us Akbar's inner and the greater self. Instead of being contented with the leadership (امير) of one community (مومنين), he became the protector of all his subjects, abolished the Jazia, pilgrim tolls, and opened *mansabdaris* to the Hindus as well, who till now had been looked upon with disdain by the ruling Muslims. When interpreted in accordance with this picture of magnanimity and forgiveness, we can easily comprehend the meaning of the two incidents which V. Smith

1 Literally 'just' دادار from داد justice.

2 Badayuni (N. K.) pp 223, 237.

3 Bad. Tr. by Lowe p. 268.

4 See p. 9, B. Tr. Lowe and Akbarnama Vol. II, Tr. A. S. of B. p. 66.

5 V. Smith disputes the assertion see his Akbar, p. 39.

dismissed one as a freak of the epileptic and the other of a drunkard.[1]

The saying (2) shows how fond Akbar was of philosophic discussions, so fond that he built at Fatehpur Sikri the *Ibadatkhana* and spent often the whole of Thursday night in disputations. If on these occasions, the heads of the Indian Mullahs, *e.g.*, Makhdum-ul-mulk and the Chief Sadr had been wise, pious and learned instead of being bigoted, greedy and cantankerous, as they were, it was very likely that Akbar, in spite of his reforming tendencies, would have remained an orthodox Muslim till the end of his days. So that if Akbar was an apostate from Islam—as is popularly believed and elaborately attempted to be demonstrated—the ignorance of the Mullas had as much to do with it as any other single cause.

Next came in the period which commences with the advent of Shaikh Mubarak and the promulgation of the Infallible decree (1579). As seen in saying (3), Akbar was waiting for the appearance of some newer prophet and the Mehdawi sect, to which Mubarak and many others of that day belonged, strengthened this hope. The Infallible Decree made him the new Saviour (سلطان عادل [2] or امام عادل) and it is as a Sultan-i-Adil, *i.e.*, one greater than even a Mujtahid[3] that he attempted reforms and the attempt was strengthened after the revolt of 1581 and the death of Hakim, four years later. That he was yet a Muslim—though not of the orthodox type—is seen from the fact that he could easily satisfy Abdulla, the powerful Uzbek ruler of Turan, when he enquired what Akbar's religion was.[4]

1 As the incidents are too long to be quoted here, the reader may be referred to V. S Akbar p. 158 and 114 and also to B. (N. K.) p. 220.

2 See B (N K) p 227.

3 مجتهد is one who introduces reforms in religion.

4 How others flattered Akbar may be seen in B. pp 232-3 (N K.). The whole passage may be quoted, درين سال اساطل و اراذل عالم نماي جاهل تعاصد دلايل باطل نمودة برين آوردند كه حالا صاحب زماني كه رافع خلاف و اختلاف هفتاد ودو ملت از مسلم وهندو باشد حضرت اندوشريف از رسائل محمود بستواني مستشهد آورد كه او تصريح نمودة باينكه در سال نهصد و نوه بر دارندة باطل شخصي خواهد بود و همة تعبير از صاحب دين حق تشخيص كردة كه بحساب جمل نهصد و نود است.....بعضي اين رباعي ميخواندند كه بتحكيم نامرحسرو وغيرة منسوب است—

درنه صدو هشتاد ونه از حكم قضا— آيند كراكب از جوانب يكجا
در سال اسد شاة اسد بين اسد— از دودة دين خواهد آيد خدا

On metempsychosis, Akbar had a firm conviction. When Aziz Koka (Khan-i-Azam) returned from Bengal he tried to argue with him remarking that his new proofs in favour of the belief were irrefutable.[2] Sayings 9, 10, 11, as coming from the Emperor's lips support the story.

Then come in a series of sayings (6, 7, 8) which show his reverence for sun and fire. It is possible that his Hindu wives made a sun worshipper of him.[1] Akbar had a peculiar fascination for the sun which he thought to be an emblem of God and supposed to be casting special grace on Kings. Thus kingship was to him in some mysterious way connected with the effulgence from the sun.

Nos. 12, 13 and 14 are the natural conclusions of a person of Sufistic or Vedantic temperament like Akbar. At the moment when Akbar made the statement No. 12, he was in a dilemma and could not come to a decision. While he thought hunting a suitable pastime for statesmen, he at the same time recognised that as a protector, it was his duty to protect life, the life even of an animal. He never decided the dilemma, for on the one hand he abstained from flesh and prohibited his subjects from killing animals for more than half the number of days in the year, on the other, he remained a mighty hunter throughout his reign. It is this eminently practical—though highly illogical—solution of the *ahinsa* theory which distinguished him from the dreamer Asoka.[3]

No. 15 reminds us of the teaching of the New Testament "suffer little children to come unto me for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." That children are godly or angelic in disposition and loving them means loving God are highly characteristic statements of the Emperor.

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1 B. (N. K.), p. 239 says that his Hindu wives made him a worshipper of the cow.

2 See B. (N K.) p 238

3 For inconsistency in Asoka see V. Smith Early History of India, p. 176 or Asoka (Rulers of India Series), p. 59. Killing animals (great or small) was a capital offence. On the other hand for Akbar read saying No. 14.

The last, No. 16 was perhaps spoken in the form of a mild reproof to his Hindu subjects. An intense believer in God like him, felt shocked at the Hindu cult of *Avatar* and so he says that whereas in other countries the utmost that was within one's reach was the appellation of a Prophet, in India, a far higher honour, that of Divinity itself was more easily and commonly attained.

SUKUMAR BANERJI.

THE POSE OF CLASSICISM.

The difference between classicism and romanticism is primarily a question of time. In every age the old traditions are attacked by new concepts, which arise from novel ways of adjustment between the individual and his environment. Either the shocks are absorbed with consequent changes in the old system, or the conventions are displaced altogether. The procedure of progress depends upon the fundamental traits in the racial character. When the racial predilection is conservative, when evolution is understood as a broad march from precedent to precedent, when the philosophy of national life is based upon compromise, when the nation walks ahead with eyes behind, the only mode of progress is in re-valuing the past. But when the racial characteristic is one of impulse, where evolution is believed to consist in jerks and spurts, where blood is more practical than ink, where Utopia is to be built, the mode of progress consists in the creation of new telic values. The underlying faith in this case, at least, is the unceasing flux of the time-spirit. Any orientation of values which is governed by that static concept of the progress of ideas, is the philosophy of classicism. A valuation of conditions, that are considered to be new and therefore needs must be governed by the dynamic concept of an ever-recurrent series of adjustments is the philosophy of romanticism. If literature at its best is a criticism of life and if life is a perpetual orientation of values, then it will have to be admitted that the element of time plays a very great part in metamorphosing the present day romantic literature into a classic of future generations.

The past gnaws into the present and the whole invades the future. In this continuity there are repetitions. In one sense, romantic revival might mean a revival of certain very primitive and natural traits of human character.

Thus, for example, the savage touch of wonder which civilization has done much to eradicate, reappears atavistically in the hands of the romantics. Plato's child-man agape with wonder at the grandeur of Nature becomes the hero of every romantic work of art. There is a renaissance of wonder. Even in a Pre-Raphaelite work of art, the heroine dreams with eyes distended. The Blessed Damozel leaning across the golden bar is wonder-struck. Again, the natural concrete character of human observation seeks to displace the abstractions arrived at by a long process of cold and mature deliberation within the cloistered cell. Thus every experience assumes the character of a discovery and the attitude of man towards Nature becomes that of an explorer. Wordsworth's small discoveries and the resultant self-complacency, as pointed out by many critics, are only the corollaries to the necessary attitude of a child-observer of concrete things in Nature.

Thus classicism is the accepted romanticism of a previous age. Romanticism is a novel experience not always new. But the difference between them is more vital than that signified in the above statement. The difference is psychological. In every human being there is a love for order which is the result of some thinking in peace and prosperity, in other words of settled habits. The mind is at rest with the environment, the benefits of group-life have been well appreciated, certain customs and conventions which Prof. Summer calls Mores and Folkways, have been formulated as embodying the wisdom of the social mind. Rules of procedure are enunciated as guides of conduct. Even the lines of creative evolution are laid out. Any departure is condemned as heresy. God reigns above and all is right below. It is the psychology of the middle-aged bourgeoisie secure in his berth with a fat salary, surrounded on all sides by chubby children. Noise is not tolerated in this happy family. Anything out of form is considered a sacrilege to the memory of the grandfathers in the gilded frames. From the butler to the porter, from the groom

to the nursery-maid, from poor relations to the children, everybody is impeccable. Mental evolution is prescribed along the routine ways of simplicity, correctness and symmetry. The Academy prescribes the style. It is the final act of the tyranny of geometry. Euclid gives counsel to God and classicism is the Q. E. D. of the problem. It is the result of an overintellectuality in human thought and action. It works immense good in so far as it draws man out of his own cell, teaches him to be objective and commands him to be orderly, symmetrical, simple, and clear, in one word scientific. The much vaunted repose of classicism is as much its monopoly as soul is man's alone. Repose is the soul of creation itself, calm and frozen like a butterfly poised on a flower in a hushed evening.

But the butterfly moves away. There is the McConnachie playing the truant at odd hours. He loves disorder, plays havoc with the negative precepts of life, behaves like an Englishman in a German public garden, tearing up all "Verboten" notices, cries Westward Ho! and sails away with the Drakes and the Hawkinses, in search of Eldorados, explores unchartered seas and comes back, if at all, none the wiser. He always looks beyond the corner, enters Bluebeard's room, delights in sacrilege and finds out parental peccadilloes. He is the ungrammatical, the Latin—hating anti-mathematical half of human nature; some times he is a child, oft times a sage. He thinks and thinks, weaves out the spider's web of consciousness, talks with the assurance of experience that is often divorced from reality, refers the world to his own vague imaginings for light and guidance. He raises arms against a sea of troubles, and fancies that the quarrel of the universe is with him. He is the oak planted in a china-vase, the sword too keen for the scabbard. His vanity is a case for the neuroses-expert. He is like the turkey which thinks that the sun has risen for the special occasion of its strutting. His own mind is the only reality, he is the pole round which the Universe moves. He is the superman. He breaks his own glasses and furniture,

other people's too, and welds them all into the beautiful porcelain of his thought. He is a socialist who does not believe in socialization. He is a poseur. The eternal child in him becomes the eternal rebel. He is of the same stuff as the reformer, the heretic, the non-conformist. He draws his descent from Lucifer, abdicates his position in paradise to build a new one to his heart's desire. He alone makes progress possible—he is a true knight of civilization.

Two souls reside in man. The peculiar juxta-position of circumstances brings out the one or the other. When the cup of contentment is drunk, the dregs of lassitude remain, creative impulse sleeps. But the necessity for Creation, Life's urge wakes it up; the sleeping fawn awakes and he is discontented. His discontent spreads the smouldering fire to kindred souls where the Promethean spark is kept alive with vestal reverence. Discontent breeds disgust for the old and generates a life of adventure. New values are created by the enthusiasts and the romantic period begins. The new style thus corresponds to a new psychological experience which carries within itself the seed of decay. Nature refuses to be imposed upon. It is an injustice done to truth to ignore facts of the external world and the unity of Nature is violated. The novel experience becomes stereotyped under an accredited form, howmuchsoever formless it might be. The form becomes a fetish. Nature, Truth is avenged. The idol is the precursor of the New God. "The king is dead, Long live the king" cries the man in the street.

Thus we see that the same man, who in his youth went in ecstasy over Hugo, takes up Racine as his model at forty. He who swore by Shelley when he was playing an Ariel to his Miranda prescribes Milton to his marriageable daughters. The same critic who would snuff out a budding genius refers his widow-friend to "that fellow's other poems." Taste is the gate of Janus hinged upon individual experience. It indicates the line of selection which the individual is unconsciously adopting to adjust himself with two sets of

circumstances created by his Nature and Nurture respectively. Taste is the antennæ of man, his pilot and his provision. Taste is primarily a likeness or hesitation, then analytic or rational and finally constructive or intuitional. In youth it is sensitive like a galvanometer and intuitive like a woman. Hence romanticism is sanctioned and hallowed by the divine right of youthfulness that pays scant courtesy to the sage noddings of the classic who is rational, analytic, re-constructive, and consequently irresponsive. We are young, our youth is developing incessantly at the call of new circumstances, thank the Lord! it is not yet formed, still can we remember sweet faces and think of suchlike useless things, as cuckoo's voice and moonshine without attempting to measure them by tuning fork and candle power or gasometers. We are swinging like the pendulum from one end to the other, but so did the dear old God of the milkmen. We are ineffectual angels beating our wings against the void, but we are in the company of Icarus. We refuse to be old. We are mad to be in contact with our youthfulness, let us play the flute and sing in tune with the Infinite.

"On with the dance,
Let joy be unconfined
When youth and pleasure meet
To chase the glowing hours with flying feet"

Though the voice of reality that is external breaks in "clearer, nearer, deadlier than before."

D. P. MUKERJEA.

REVIEWS.

Report of the Indian Fiscal Commission.

A careful analysis of India's present economic position yields the conclusion that she is still mainly an agricultural country. Nearly three-fourths of the population depend on pasture and agriculture for their living. Over 70 per cent. of her imports are partly or wholly manufactured goods, while the same proportion of her exports is represented by raw materials and food-stuffs. Thus, in spite of her possession of ample raw materials, sufficient power resources, a plentiful supply of labour, and a large home market, the progress made in industrial development has been on a limited scale, and in comparison with other countries, it has been extremely slow and halting. Hence, a more rapid industrial development should be attained by the country, for it will have many advantages for India. In the first place, it will give stability and variety to her economic life, which is at present one-sided and depends entirely on the caprices of nature. Secondly, the profits of industries will lead to a steady creation of industrial capital because these profits are generally used in further investment. Thirdly, it will create and expand avenues of employment for the educated classes and lead to an increase in the wages of labour. Fourthly, it will increase those taxable sources of the country which are elastic and capable of responding to the unceasing demands of a modern government. And lastly, what is more important for us to note, it will create outlets for diversity of talent, build up a vigorous national character and will produce "a type of mind with a sufficiently practical grasp of affairs." And this is a benefit which cannot be measured in terms of money. (Chaps. III, IV).

Probably it may be held that the freedom of the Fiscal Commission was limited by a number of circumstances which could not be ignored. There had been for a long time a

strong sentiment in India in favour of a policy of protection to the young industries of the country. This sentiment was the result partly of a suspicion that Indian industries had been deliberately deprived of a tariff support in the interest of Lancashire, and partly of a belief in the policy of protection itself as it was found to have been successful in highly developed countries like America and Germany. Secondly, the exigencies of the government finances had already led to the adoption of a high revenue tariff and were sure to require a continuance of it at a still higher level. And a high revenue tariff inevitably led to protection. Thus, a protective tariff was unavoidable in any case. Accordingly, the only task left for the Fiscal Commission was to make out a case for protection and devise a general scheme for it. The case for protection to young industries in India has been established somewhat in the following way:—India has natural advantages, both actual and potential, for a variety of important industries. But, these industries cannot be successfully established in India, unless and until some other indispensable elements of productive power have been developed. These are enterprise, skill, industrial labour and capital, and organized systems of transport and credit. When a country is passing through a period of transition from the agricultural stage to the manufacturing stage, the process of creating and developing these elements of productive power, if it is to be rapid, must be encouraged and assisted by the nation. The least inconvenient way of doing this is by means of a protective tariff which will protect the infant industries of the country from the competition of stronger foreign rivals who are stronger only because they had the initial advantage of an earlier start. Now, import duties would raise the prices of protected commodities nearly by the full extent of the duties. It would mean that money taken out of the pockets of the consumers would be put into the pockets of a few manufacturers. And this is exactly the sacrifice of wealth which the nation is called upon to make for the development of

productive powers, for as List rightly observes, powers of producing wealth are infinitely more important than wealth itself. But this sacrifice need be made only for twenty or thirty years. When the essential industrial outfit and equipment have been perfected, and industries have passed through the initial period of inexperience and nervousness, the tariff wall would be pulled down, and industries would be left to their own resources to compete with their foreign rivals. (Chap. V).

After having established the case for protection, the Commission lays down certain principles upon which the protective policy should be based. In order that the protective tariff may serve its true purpose of encouraging only those young industries which have a chance of becoming independent, and in order also that the burden upon the consumers may not be unnecessarily great or prolonged beyond a reasonable period, the policy to be followed should be one of discrimination. A Tariff Board, entrusted with the duty of exercising this discrimination, is an integral part of the scheme. An industry which claims protection must satisfy the Tariff Board that it fulfils three essential conditions. The industry must be one which possesses natural advantages, which is not likely to develop without protection, and which will ultimately be able to face world competition without protection. Further, as there is no certainty that a newly started industry is really suitable to the conditions of the country, another principle laid down is that, as a rule, no protection should be granted to new industries. But there are two cases where these rules may be relaxed. Firstly, there is the case of industries essential for national safety and defence. Secondly, there is the case of basic or key industries, the products of which are used as raw materials by numerous other industries. Iron and steel industries fall into both these exceptionally important classes. These industries must be developed at any cost, sometimes by protective tariff and sometimes by bounties. As regards the general character of the tariff, it is laid

down that the imports of machinery, raw materials, and partly manufactured goods should be free or lightly taxed, while the imports of fully manufactured goods should be taxed according to the degree of protection that is found to be necessary for the home industries after investigation by the Tariff Board. (Chaps. VI, VII).

But mere protection by itself will not secure the full industrial development which is desired. Accordingly, the Commission recommends certain supplementary measures. In the first place, it suggests that the system of primary education should provide for manual training and be devoted to the awakening of an interest in mechanical pursuits. Secondly, it recommends that the Government should require industrial firms favoured with orders or any other direct State assistance, to afford facilities for technical training to Indian apprentices. Thirdly, it desires that the railway rates policy, which at present favours traffic to and from the ports at the expense of internal traffic, should be modified so as to place both classes of traffic on an equal footing, and that, wherever necessary, railway rates should be used as an indirect method of State subsidy to new industries. Fourthly, it recommends that the Tariff Board should be entrusted with the function of enquiring if there are any imported commodities which are being dumped into India to the injury of an Indian industry, and that, if any such case is proved, the Board is to recommend the imposition of a dumping duty. (Chap. VIII).

As regards the general principles of excise duties, the Commission points out that excise duties are levied either to check the consumption of injurious articles like wine or to make the poorer classes contribute to the revenues of the State by imposing duties on articles of universal consumption like tobacco, matches, kerosene, etc. Now, there are some articles of universal consumption like cotton piece-goods which are both imported and produced at home. If after granting the necessary amount of protection to such articles, it is found necessary to derive more revenue from

their consumption, it should be raised not by an increase of import duties alone, for that would mean an unnecessarily high burden upon consumers. Accordingly, the Commission recommends that additional revenue should be realised by raising the import duties a little above the necessary protective level, and that this rise in import duties should be countervailed by an approximately equal rate of excise duties. Coming to the troublesome question of the Indian cotton excise, the Commission unreservedly condemns the existing cotton excise duties in view of their past history and associations. But, it does not see its way to recommend an unconditional abolition. The only point conceded is that there should be an authoritative declaration of policy not to impose cotton excise duties without the consent and recommendation of the Indian Legislature, in case it should be found necessary to raise additional revenue from the consumption of cotton clothes by import plus excise duties, according to the principles enunciated above. (Chapters IX, X).

Discussing the effect of export duties, the Commission points out that export duties will fall upon foreigners only when India has a monopoly of supply, when there is no substitute for the exported commodity, and when there is an inelastic demand. On a detailed analysis it is found that India has no monopoly of supply except in the case of jute, and even for jute there are potential substitutes available to foreigners. Hence, the effect of export duties is to reduce the profits of producers and thus to discourage production. Similarly, the effect of export duties on foodstuffs will be the displacement of food crops by non-food crops. Accordingly, the Commission desires the abolition of all export duties. The only exception allowed is in the case of scarcity, internal or external, when it may be desirable to arrest the tendency of prices of food-stuffs to rise above the safety line. (Chapters XI, XII).

Coming to Imperial Preference, the Commission examines the different aspects of the question in some detail. The principle of preference as accepted by Imperial con-

ferences, does not involve the necessity of lowering the level of protection needed by the home industries. It may be adopted in practice by levying only the necessary minimum rate of protective duties upon the Empire products and subjecting foreign products to a higher rate of duties. The effect would be to give some sort of indirect bounty to Empire producers at the expense of the Indian taxpayer. The Commission is of opinion that while India can give considerable preference to British industries, the United Kingdom can offer no corresponding benefit to India, except in the case of coffee, because India's major exports are in competition with those of other parts of the Empire, to which an equal preference will have to be given by the mother country. Further, the Indian taxpayer being too poor to meet the demands even of the Indian Government can hardly be called upon to contribute towards a bounty in favour of British industries. Hence, the Commission does not favour the grant of preference to England on economic grounds. On Imperial grounds, however, the Commission considers that preference may be given to certain vital or basic industries of the United Kingdom, the character and amount of preference being decided by the Legislative Assembly. As regards the grant of preference to Colonies, the Commission is of opinion that such preference may be given only on the basis of reciprocity. (Chapter XIII).

On the question of foreign capital the Commission recognizes that Indian sentiment is not in favour of the free inflow of foreign capital into India. This hostile sentiment is mainly due to a misgiving that unconditional permission for the investment of foreign capital may create powerful vested interests which may stand in the way of India's political progress. But on the other hand, the Commission points out that a rapid industrialisation of India will be extremely difficult without the assistance of foreign capital and foreign enterprise. Hence, it does not desire to impose any conditions on the investment of foreign capital in India. (Chapter XV).

Minute of Dissent.

The Minority consisting of 5 Indian Members out of a total strength of 11 members submits a Note of Dissent. It differs from the majority on some vital questions. As regards the scheme of protection, while approving of the principle of discrimination, it considers that the conditions of protection laid down by the majority are too stringent. Its difference with the majority on the question of the excise policy is more fundamental. It criticises the majority on the ground that while it has recommended the abolition of export duties which bring in a revenue of nearly 3 crores, the continuance of the cotton excise duty for the purpose of revenue has been left an open question. While admitting that export duties generally discourage production, it is not unreasonable to expect that export duties on India's raw materials and food-stuffs, the demand for which is likely to be high in the period of industrial boom and economic reconstruction in the near future, will fall in great part upon the foreign customers. On the other hand, it should be remembered that the cotton industry being the oldest and greatest of Indian industries, any retardation of its progress will react unfavourably upon the advancement of other industries and also upon the promotion of general productive powers. The general public, therefore, will accept the emphatic recommendation of the minority that the cotton excise duties should be unconditionally abolished, at least during the period of India's economic transformation. (Chapters I, III).

Coming to Imperial Preference, the minority holds that preference should be granted to the United Kingdom only when the same degree of fiscal freedom has been granted to India as is possessed by the Dominions. As regards the grant of preference to the Dominions, the minority is of opinion that no preference should be granted to them unless and until equality of status has been recognized and all anti-Asiatic laws in so far as they apply to Indians have

been repealed. On both these points, the minority appears to have made a confusion between political and economic issues, which should be kept distinct as far as possible. Although the United Kingdom already receives considerable natural preference for her products in the Indian market, owing to India's intimate political, financial, and commercial relations with that country, preference in a few selected articles may be granted in so far as it does not reduce the amount of protection needed by Indian industries or impose too great a burden upon the Indian public. On the question of preference to the Dominions too, the minority is wrong in supposing that the grant of preference in the sphere of that insignificant commerce between India and the Dominions, will be a sufficient consideration for them to revoke all anti-Indian measures. The question at issue between India and the Dominions is very vital and fundamental, and requires to be solved by means of diplomacy and not by the manipulation of the tariff. (Chapter IV).

On the question of foreign capital, it appears that the balance of arguments lies on the side of the minority. It is right in holding that as protection means a sacrifice on the part of Indian consumers, the investment of capital, Indian and foreign, should satisfy the demands of India's industrial development and general economic well-being. Hence, it lays down three conditions which should be satisfied by foreign capital and enterprise:—(1) Such companies should be incorporated and registered in India; (2) There should be a reasonable proportion of Indian Directors on the Board; (3) Reasonable facilities should be offered for the training of Indian apprentices. (Chapter V).

Conclusion.—The Report of the Fiscal Commission is the first expression of India's desire to exercise her fiscal autonomy in the interest of her own economic well-being. The Report itself is remarkable for the breadth and impartiality of views, lucidity of treatment, and balanced character of the judgment manifested by its authors. The members of the Commission have laid the Indian public under a deep debt of grati-

tude for giving them an enlightened lead in the determination of India's tariff policy. It now remains for the nation and its Government to give effect to their recommendations. It is hoped that in framing the tariff policy, due weight will be given to the opinions of the minority, in view of the fact that it consists of 5 out of a total of 11 members and also counts among its number the distinguished president of the Commission himself.

H. L. D.

The Evolution of Continuity in the Natural World.—By David Russel, M D. pp. 278 [London George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1922] 16*s*. net.

That evolution has taken place in the organic world is supported by incontrovertible evidence from anatomical, embyological and palæontological sources. But while the fact of evolution is firmly established and forms the accepted creed of all biologists, there is still a good deal of uncertainty in regard to the factors that have been operative in the evolutionary process. Dr. Russell is a Lamarckian and relies on acquired variations and their transmissibility as the methods of the process of evolution. Although he quotes extensively from Prince Kropotkin's paper (1915), he omits to make a mention of the recent experiments of Guyer and Smith (Journal of Exptl. Zoology 1920) which furnish strong evidence in favour of the influence of the soma on the germ. But Dr. Russell's own contribution to the evolution hypothesis is the idea of continuity, its multiplication, and intensification. He believes "that *fundamentally* the 'evolution of species' has been the evolution of continuity types in an ascending scale, and that within each of these there has been origination of animal and vegetable species, as the term 'species' is generally understood." The author's seven continuity types beginning with the Discontinuously Multicellular and ending with the segmental type embrace the Protozoa,

the Cœlenterates, and the lower Cœlomata, and it is from the segmental type (a strobilating Scyphistoma—a serio—medusoid organism) that the author derives the higher phyla of the animal kingdom (cf. thecorm theory of Haeckel, Gegenbaur and Hatschek). In his zeal to show the continuity between the Protozoa and the Metazoa, the author thinks of the former as parts or stages in the development of his Discontinuously Multicellular Individual type and denies Individuality to unicellular organisms—a view based on an inadequate appreciation of the life-processes of the Protozoa. The author goes back to the hypothesis of an individual being the "sum of a complete growth-cycle" and adds that "a man can *loosely* be described as an Individual but he is only potentially one as long as he can produce sexual elements and repair tissue loss." If anything is an individual on this earth, that surely is man; and yet we are asked to believe that though most of us are true individuals, yet there are men who live and move but may not be called Individuals. Although the author's definition—modified from Huxley—rests on realities which are of some biological importance, it has little reference to the philosophical idea of individuality, which would take into account the actual working of the organism, the way it directs its inherent forces and influences the world around it.

A very readable account of the auxiliary problems of evolution is found in the last chapters where the author discusses the evolution of symmetry, the phenomena of alternation of generations and of Karyokinesis, to which the author applies his idea of the forces of Attraction and Repulsion which "govern equally the formation of the atom and the origin of species", and are, in fact, "the fundamental principles of creation."

K. N. B.

Our Infinite Life—William Kingsland.—[George Allen and Unwin.]

In this work Mr. Kingsland has as the theme of his discourse the old yet ever fresh subject of the nature of Reality and man's relation to it.

His fundamental idea is that Reality is a perfectly harmonious, non-self-contradictory Unity. This unity is not a logical abstract unity, but is Life. Reality, according to Mr. Kingsland, may be called One-Life-Substance.

If the nature of Reality be accepted as such, it cannot be explained in terms of a 'static absolute' in which all is given. It is an Ever Becoming. The absolute is for ever in the making. The entire cosmic process is the Activity Aspect of this Reality.

The question then arises as to how the world of form and matter is evolved out of this One-Life-Substance. The author deals with this problem in view of the law of continuity as follows:—The One-Life-Substance manifests itself in certain modes or planes. Of these the highest and ultimate plane is that of the spirit, next comes the mental plane, which is followed by the plane of Ether, and lastly comes the plane of Matter.

The physical sciences are occupied with the discussion of matter alone; they hesitate to postulate anything definitely concerning the nature of Ether. But by a little stretch of the imagination their treatment of matter may throw some light upon the nature of the other planes of reality. The two fundamental qualities of matter are solidity and impenetrability; and these are due to the intensity of motion in something—Ether—which if motionless would present no feature by which our senses could apprehend it. This suggests that matter is merely a *state* of Ether. Science does not go beyond this. But we can easily imagine, says Mr. Kingsland, that Ether, in its turn, may be a state of a still higher plane of reality, Mind, which again may be an expression of the ultimate reality spirit.

Man appears as a synthesising medium of this diversified unity whose function is (*a*) to understand his individuality—limited by time, space, and causality—as an expression of the Cosmic Mind, and (*b*) to overcome the limitations of this individuality, and realise himself with regard to the One-Life. According to the author man can accomplish this by two means, namely, (1) the path of knowledge, and (2) the path of devotion. As soon as he knows truly the meaning of 'that art thou,' he completely realises himself, and fulfils the aim of his existence. The doctrine is an idealistic monism and lays the foundations for a later work on rational mysticism which the author has ready for publication. The present work though a condensation of his larger book on Scientific Idealism, is characterised by clear exposition and fresh up-to-date illustration; and to make the task of the reader easier the various stages in the argument are marked off by explicit principles numbered and formulated at the end of each chapter. The book should have a special interest for readers of Indian Philosophy as showing how a modern scientific western mind reaches conclusions familiar to them.

E. A. S.

Thacker's Indian Letter Writer.—[Thacker, Spink & Co.]

This is a useful little manual worthy of consultation by the student who has formal letters to write. Even the section on Commercial Correspondence is written, for the most part, in good English. This is gratifying in view of the persistence in many Commercial text-books and colleges of that bastard language commonly called Commercial English.

H. S. W.

An Introduction to Co-operation in India.—By C F Strickland, I.C.S, [Oxford University Press, Calcutta]

Sometime last year, the Oxford University Press, in consultation with some important persons throughout India, projected a new series of publications, to be called the "India of To-day" series, the main object of which was planned to be the general education of the public and especially our public men, in the most important economic and political problems of modern India. The present book under review is the first of the series and it has been prepared under the general editorship of the Central Bureau of Information of the Government of India. The book is a small compact volume of 75 pages beautifully printed and exceedingly well written. The author begins by describing the great economic evils of modern capitalism and then proceeds to discuss the various remedies suggested to cope with them, *viz.*, Socialism, Communism, Trade Unionism, etc. He easily disposes of them and then proceeds to show that Co-operation and Co-operation alone is the best and the most practical remedy to overcome. the evils of capitalism. The main principles of Co-operation are then lucidly explained and the success of the movement has been very well illustrated by actual examples of what has been done in England and especially Italy. The three grave defects of the Italian Co-operative System—pointed out by the author—will serve as a warning to enthusiastic Co-operators in India. A brief history of the Co-operative movement in India and the special dangers of the movement in this country is particularly interesting. The different types of Co-operative Societies are briefly dealt with. The author also explains in the last chapter how the curse of litigation is ruining the cultivators throughout India. "After the money-lender the law Court : this was the rake's progress of the Indian peasant." The Co-operative movement is the one great

solution of the Indian rural problem. The heart of the movement is sound. The only thing we need guard against is undue haste in expanding the movement. A forced growth is useless. It must grow itself.

We congratulate both the author and the publisher for this excellent hand-book on Co-operation within the short compass of 75 pages. The price of the book is Rs. 2 only.

B. M.

Happy India.—By Arnold Lupton, [George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.]

The author of the little volume had read Digby's *Prosperous British India* which appeared to present to him a terrible indictment of British rule in India. He had read of the millions of Indians who never had one full meal in the course of the whole year, he had read of famines, disease, destitution and poverty and all these thing which make life a hell to the majority of Indians. These statements struck him so forcibly that he decided to come to India in order to see things for himself. But the way in which he did it was typical of the proverbial globe-trotter. He had, he says, "introductions to the Governor-General and the Governors of Bengal, Madras and Bombay" and, with the aid of these introductions he was able to get information from officers of high rank. Thus armed, within the period of a brief visit, the author "did" India. The author is himself an engineer and the conclusion to which he arrived as the result of his Indian visit was that India badly needed guidance from Science and that science alone could regenerate India as nothing else would. With this conclusion, broadly stated, most of us will agree. But some of the arguments of the author and some of his statements need careful revision and re-statement. We can give only

a few illustrations to justify our remark. "The only way to abolish plague is to pull down the insanitary huts and build clean huts and give the people enough food" It is not stated how this is to be done and who will finance the scheme. In India, we are told, we have to "live in a house where all the doors and windows are closed with netting which prevents the mosquito flying in." We really do not know where the author found such a house in India—unless it be that he discovered such a house in the Simla Secretariat. To "*abolish*" the mosquitoes "every stream must have its banks made straight and smooth so that there shall not be little corners where the mosquito may breed." India would be a magnificent country, if only the Government at Simla would issue the necessary orders to its engineers to "*abolish*" malaria and the easiest way for malaria to be eradicated is "by hunting the mosquitoes and driving them out of the district!"

These are a few only of the author's gems and we wonder how a clever engineer produced such things. It is the sole result of seeing things through official reports and from Government Houses. The book has frankly disappointed us, so far as its arguments are concerned. But with his main conclusions we all agree. We really require more scientific training and guidance, more scientific equipment—and with the aid of these we can really make India a better and a happier place. The author also deals with some aspects of our social life *e.g.*, early marriage, the growth of population and in these chapters some of his remarks will command universal assent.

The author gives us plenty of facts and figures with which he proves his cases. His great message to the people of India is—Help yourselves and with Science to help you, you will succeed. With this proposition, we all are in hearty agreement.

The book is beautifully printed and bound. The price is 6s. net.

B. M.

The Editor desires to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications :—

The St. John's College Magazine, August 1922.

The Student's Chronicle (Serampore College Magazine), July 1922.

The Bengal, Behar and Orissa Co-operative Journal, July and October 1922.

Methodist Education, October 1922.

The Presidency College Magazine, September 1922.

Meerut College Magazine, November 1922.

The Educational Review, September and October 1922.

The Indian Review, September and October 1922.

The Collegian, October 1922.

The Burma Gazette (weekly) from November 4th, 1922.

The Aligarh Magazine, July to October 1922 (1 Vol.)

The Ewing Christian College Magazine, October 1922.

The Mysore Economic Journal, August, September 1922 (1 Vol.)

UNIVERSITY NOTES.

Faculty of Arts.

Department of Philosophy.

Mr. E. Ahmad Shah who was on the Canning College Staff for six years has now returned after two years' study abroad, having secured the degree of B. Litt., from Oxford. He has been elected a member of the Royal Asiatic Society. He is now a Lecturer in the Department. We congratulate him on his achievements.

Department of Economics and Sociology.

Mr. B. Mukherjee, Reader in Economics and Sociology, has been appointed a member of the Standing Committee of Co-operators in the United Provinces, which advises the Government in all matters relating to the Co-operative Movement. Mr. Mukherjee, has also been invited by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies to deliver a course of lectures on Co-operation to the senior students of the Government Co-operative Training Classes at Unao. Nine girls—students of Economics in the Isabella Thoburn College—had a day out on the 2nd December last, when they were led by Mr. B. Mukherjee and Miss Reddick—the two Readers in Economics—in a party which went to see a Co-operative Credit Society at Rudhi, a place about 15 miles from Lucknow. The party left Lucknow by train in the noon and returned in the evening. Mr. Mukherjee explained to the girls all the important features of the Society they inspected and the girls evidently learnt much and enjoyed more. After the Co-operative Society was inspected the party broke up into two small groups—one with Miss Reddick and the other with Mr. B. Mukherjee—and they inspected

the conditions of work and living in several huts of the cultivators. They also watched with keen interest the village potter carrying on his little village industry and they made little tours round the cultivated fields of the villages. The trip was a great success. An officer of the Department and the local supervisor accompanied the party and rendered great help. Two other ladies from the Isabella Thoburn College also accompanied the party as visitors.

Mr. H. L. Dey, Lecturer, in the Department has been elected a Fellow of the Royal Economic Society.

Department of English.

On January 20th, 1923, two dramas will be staged under the direction of the Department, Rabindra Nath Tagore's *Waterfall* (by the kind permission of the author) and *The Last Exile of Sita.* The second is a short play which has been written by members of the 2nd Year Honours Class under the direction of Mr. H. S. Walker.

Faculty of Commerce.

The results in the Bachelor of Commerce Previous Examination 1922 were by an oversight omitted from the last issue. Twelve candidates appeared, and eleven passed in this Examination.

Faculty of Medicine.

Major Hughes Stott, I.M.S., has been appointed Professor of Pathology and Rai Bahadur Dr. B. N. Vyas, M. B., has been appointed Reader in Materia Medica.

Faculty of Science.

Department of Botany.

Mr. S. K. Pande, M.Sc., was appointed Demonstrator of Botany, on 11th September 1922.

The Lucknow University Union.

Among all the changes made by the inauguration of the Lucknow University, the organization of the Lucknow University Union is not the least remarkable. Indeed, it is most popular both among the students and the public. Though organized only in September last, it has proved an eminent success, to which the great popularity of its debates, the excellence of the library and reading-room and the restaurant, which it maintains, bear eloquent testimony.

Good books have been purchased for the library, which it is hoped, will form the basis of an excellent library of current political literature. The reading room is equipped with periodicals, magazines and newspapers. The restaurant caters for the needs of members of the University.

The union seeks to work on the lines of the Oxford Union, and the success it has attained, under the enthusiastic and able direction of its first President, Dr. K. N. Bahl, during the short interval of its existence of three months, abundantly proves that it is not a vain quest after an unattainable ideal.

The following are the office-bearers of its first session 1922-23:—

1. Dr. K. N. Bahl, M.Sc., D.Sc., D. PH. (Oxon) President.
2. Mr. Tejasvi Prasad Bhalla, M. A., Secretary and Delegate of the Faculty of Law.
3. Mr. Shiva Shankar Tripathi, M. A., Assistant Secretary and Delegate of the Faculty of Arts.
4. Mr. Iqbal Husain—Treasurer and Delegate of the Faculty of Arts.

The other members of the Executive Committee on:—

1. Dr. S. M. Sane, M.Sc., PH.D., F.C.S.
2. Mr. H. S. Walker, M. A.
3. Mr. Shyama Charan, Delegate of the Faculty of Science.
4. Mr. Shiva Shanker Sharma, Delegate of the Faculty of Commerce.

Four public debates have been held so far and a detailed account of them is given below.

I. 18th October 1922. *Question for debate*:—"This house is of opinion that having regard to her history, the Parliamentary Form of Government, is unsuited to the genius of India."

Speakers:—Pt. Iqbal Narain Gurtu, M.L.C., Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerji, Mr. Ram Chandra, B.A., Mr. S. K. Banerji, M.A., Mr. Khurshed Lal and Mr. D. P. Mukerji, M.A.

II. 28th October 1922. *Question for debate*:—"This House is of opinion that the Frontier Policy of the Government of India has been a failure and needs revision."

Speakers:—Prof. L. F. Rushbrook Williams, Dr. V. S. Ram, Mr. B. B. S. Jetly, B.A., Mr. Abdus Samad Jafri, Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain, Mr. Tejasvi Prasad, M.A.

III. 18th November 1922. *Question for debate*:—"This House is of opinion that the U. P. Government has failed in its policy of making elementary education free and compulsory." (Urdu debate).

Speakers:—The Hon'ble Pt. Jagat Narain, Minister, U. P. Government; Maulvi Kamal-ud-din Ahmad; Mr. Talib Masih, Mr. Taqi Ahmad; and Mr. Krishna Sahai Asthana.

IV. 28th November 1922. *Question for debate*:—"This House is of opinion that a policy of Protective Tariffs is best suited to the Economic Development of India." Pt. Hirday Nath Kunzru, M.L.C ; Mr. H. L. Dey, M.A., Mr. Mul Chand Tripathi, B.A., Mr. Khurshed Lal, Mr. S. N. Chakravarti; Dr. V. S. Ram; Mr. Bhagat Ram Kumar, B.A. (Oxon.).

TEJASVI PRASAD BHALLA, M. A.,—
Honorary Secretary.

List of University Extension Lectures delivered in October, November and December, 1922.

No.	Date.	Name of Lecturer.	Subject.
1	Wednesday, 11th October	Mr F.T Pinto, B A , LL.B	"Life and Manners of the age of Shakespeare."
2	Wednesday, 25th October.	Do.	"Shakespeare and his Fellows"
3	Wednesday, 1st November.	Do.	"The Shakespearian Theatre."
4	Tuesday, 7th November.	Prof J. S. Mackenzie, LL.D., Litt D.	"Our Theoretical Outlook."
5	Wednesday, 8th November.	Mr H. S. Walker, M.A.	"Browne and the æsthetic movement in the 17th century"
6	Thursday, 9th November.	Prof. J. S. Mackenzie, LL.D., Litt. D	"Idealism and Realism."
7	Saturday, 11th November.	Mrs. Mackenzie, M.A.	"Education as a Fine Art.
8	Tuesday, 11th November.	Prof. J. S. Mackenzie, LL.D., Litt. D.	"The One and the Many."
9	Wednesday, 15th November.	Mr. H. S. Walker, M.A.	"Milton and Puritanism."
10	Thursday, 16th November.	Mrs. Mackenzie.	"The Teacher and the School"
11	Saturday, 18th November.	Prof J S. Mackenzie, LL.D , Litt. D.	"The conception of a Cosmos"
12	Tuesday, 21st November.	Do.	"Space and Time."
13	Wednesday, 22nd November.	Mr Bhujanga Bhushan Mukerji, M.A., B.L., P.R S.	"Co-operation in India—its meaning and message"
14	Thursday, 23rd November.	Prof. J. S. Mackenzie, LL.D., Litt. D.	"Necessity and Contingency."
15	Saturday, 25th November.	Mrs. Mackenzie.	"The Functions of a University Dept. in Education."
16	Monday, 27th November.	Mr. D. B. Deodhar, M.Sc.	"Some scientific worthies."
17	Tuesday, 28th November.	Prof. J. S. Mackenzie, LL.D., Litt. D.	"The conception of value."
18	Wednesday, 29th November.	Pandit Badri Nath Bhatt, B.A.	"The Origin of Hindi."

No.	Date.	Name of Lecturer.	Subject
19	Thursday, 30th November	Prof J S Mackenzie, LL D, Litt D	"The Function of Imagination."
20	Friday, 1st December.	Mr A. S. Walker, M A.	"Dryden and the Scientific Movement."
21	Saturday, 2nd December.	Prof. J S. Mackenzie, LL.D, Litt D.	"The problem of Creation."
22	Monday, 4th December.	Mr. Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji, M.A.	"The new point of View of Economics"
23	Tuesday, 5th December.	Mr B R. Kumar.	"The Spirit of the Age."

सोमनाथ कवि। *

इस प्रसिद्ध कवि को हुए लगभग दो सौ वर्ष हो गये। 'शिवसिंह सरोज' में इसके लिखे एक भी ग्रन्थ का उल्लेख नहीं, और 'मिश्रबन्धु विनोद' में 'रस-पीयूष निधि' के अतिरिक्त केवल दो और पुस्तकों ('पंचाध्यायी' और 'सुजान विलास') के नाम दिये हुए हैं। इनके अतिरिक्त हमें इस कवि की सात पुस्तकें और भी देखने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ है जिनका परिचय, इसी लेख में, आगे दिया जायगा। इस कवि की कुछ और भी पुस्तकें होंगी परन्तु उनका पता अभी तक नहीं लगा। उनके लिये हम खोज कर रहे हैं। वैसे तो जो रचना अब तक उपलब्ध हुई है वही अपनी सुन्दरता, सरलता और प्रौढ़ता के कारण हिन्दी के उच्चकोटि के कवियों में इस कवि को स्थान दिलाने के लिये पर्याप्त है।

अपनी कई पुस्तकों में इस कवि ने अपना वंश-परिचय दे दिया है यह अच्छा किया है, नहीं तो सम्भव था कि और कितने ही प्रसिद्ध कवियों के जाति-कुल की भाँति इसके जाति-कुल के विषय में भी इतिहास-प्रेमी जन सोचते ही रह जाते। यहाँ हम 'रसपीयूष निधि' से इसका वंश-परिचय उद्धृत करते हैं:—

मिश्र नरोतम नरोत्तम, भये छिरोरा बंस।
रामसिंह के मन्त्र-गुरु, माथुर कुल अवतंस॥
तिन के पुत्र प्रसिद्ध देवकीनन्दन भये।
विद्या बुद्धि समुद्र जगत उत्तम जस लये॥
तिनके अनुज अनूप एक श्रीकंठ सुहाए।
ताके जागे भाग जिननि वे दरसन पाए॥
उपजे नन्दन मिश्र के, चारि पुत्र सुखदानि।
नीलकंठ, मोहन बहुरि, मिश्र महामनि जानि॥
चौथो राजाराम पुनि, निज मन में पहिचानि।
सबै भाँति लायक सबै, निपट रसिक उर आनि॥
काम अवतार से अनूप अति रूप कर
सील कर सुन्दर सरस सुधाधर से;
कविता में व्यास के प्रमान कह सोमनाथ
जुद्ध रीति जानबे कौं पारथ से दरसे;
बुद्धि कर सिन्धुरवदन के समान अरु
उद्धत उदारता में भूमि सुरतर से;
सिद्धता में विमल श्रेष्ठ मुनिवर से औ
ज्योतिस में नीलकंठ मिश्र दिनकर से।

* इस लेख में 'संवत' से तात्पर्य विक्रमी संवत् से है।

तिनके पुत्र अनन्दनिधि, बड़े उजागर जानि।
जिनकी सुजस दिगन्त लौं, महा उजागर मानि॥
गगाधर तिनके तनय, गगाधर परिमान।
सोमनाथ तिनको अनुज, सबते निपट अजान॥

इस परिचय से सूचित होता है कि ये माथुर चतुर्वेदी थे। यह भी कहा जा सकता है कि अगर यह 'सबते निपट अजान' व्यक्ति इस कुल में जन्म न लेता तो काम, सुधाधर, व्यास, पार्थ आदि को मात करनेवाले इसके पूर्वजों का नाम तक भी आज किसी को ज्ञात न होता! अस्तु। अपना यह परिचय सोमनाथ ने कई पुस्तकों में दिया है। सोमनाथ के आश्रयदाता वैर के राजा प्रतापसिंह और उनके बड़े भाई, भरतपुर के संस्थापक, राजा सूरजमल (जिनका दूसरा नाम सुजानसिंह था और जिनकी प्रशंसा में प्रसिद्ध कवि सूदन ने 'सुजान चरित' नाम का ग्रन्थ बनाया है) थे। ये दोनों राजा बदनसिंह के पुत्र थे। बदनसिंह के बीस पुत्र और भी थे। सबसे बड़े सूरजमल थे। सूरजमल को उन्होंने डीग का और प्रतापसिंह को वैर* का राज सौंपा था। राजा प्रतापसिंह के मरने पर वैर का राज भी भरतपुर में ही मिला लिया गया। सूरजमल तो प्रसिद्ध योद्धा थे ही, वाल्मीकि रामायण का जो अनुवाद 'रामचरित्र रत्नाकर' के नाम से सोमनाथ ने किया है उससे ज्ञात होता है कि प्रतापसिंह भी कुछ कम वीर न थे। भूपाल के पास जो लड़ाई मीर निज़ाम और बाजीराव पेशवा में हुई थी उसमें इन्होंने मीर निज़ाम की ओर से लड़ते हुए अद्भुत वीरता का परिचय दिया था। इनके पुत्र कुँवर बहादुरसिंहजी भी बड़े विद्यारसिक थे। 'मिश्रबन्धु विनोद' के दूसरे भाग में सोमनाथ नामके एक और कवि का उल्लेख इस प्रकार किया गया है:—

नाम—सोमनाथ सांडी हरदोई।
ग्रन्थ—माधवविनोद नाटक।
रचना-काल—१८०९।
विवरण—कुँवर बहादुरसिंह के यहाँ थे।

इसमें हमें कुछ गड़बड़ मालूम होती है। 'मिश्रबन्धु विनोद' में यह नहीं बतलाया गया कि ये कुँवर बहादुरसिंहजी कौन थे और कहाँ के थे। हाँ, हमारे चरितनायक ने संवत् १८०९ में भवभूति के प्रसिद्ध नाटक मालती माधव का स्वतन्त्र अनुवाद 'माधवविनोद नाटक' के नाम से अवश्य किया था, और प्रतापसिंहजी के पुत्र कुँवर बहादुरसिंहजी से उसका सम्बन्ध भी उसकी लिखी कई पुस्तकों से सिद्ध होता है जिनमें से यह अनुवाद भी है जो कि कुँवरसाहब के मनोरञ्जनार्थ किया गया था। इन कारणों से यही कहना पड़ता है कि जिस कवि का मिश्र-बन्धुओं ने परिचय दिया है उसने कोई और ग्रन्थ लिखा होगा, यह नाटक नहीं।

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* 'वैर पर वारूँ कोटि सहर धनेस के'—रसपीयूषनिधि।

वैसे तो वैर और भरतपुर दोनों ही जगह सोमनाथजी की प्रतिष्ठा एक सी हुई परन्तु वैर दरबार से ही इनका सम्बन्ध अधिक रहा मालूम होता है, क्योंकि इनकी जो पुस्तकें अब तक देखने में आई हैं उनमें से केवल एक (सुजानविलास) ही भरतपुर नरेश की आज्ञा से लिखी गई है। शेष पुस्तकों में से अधिकतर प्रतापसिंहजी अथवा उनके पुत्र कुँवर बहादुरसिंहजी की प्रेरणा से अथवा उनके मनोरञ्जनार्थ लिखी गई हैं। अपनी रचनाओं में इन्होंने अपने नाम 'सोमनाथ', 'शशिनाथ' और 'नाथ' दिये हैं। अब हम इनकी पुस्तकों का कुछ परिचय देते हैं:—

(१) **रसपीयूषनिधि**—यह रीतिग्रन्थ है और बड़े अच्छे ढंग से लिखा गया है। इसके अंत में यह दोहा है:—

सत्रह सौ चौरानवाँ, सम्वत जेठ सुमास।
कृष्णपक्ष दसमी भृगौ, भयो ग्रन्थ परकास॥

यह प्रतापसिंहजी की आज्ञा से लिखा गया है। केवल इस अकेले ग्रन्थ से ही सोमनाथ की प्रतिभा तथा उनकी काव्य विषयक योग्यता का पता अच्छी तरह लग सकता है।

(२) **वाल्मीकि रामायण का अनुवाद**—यह वाल्मीकि रामायण का अत्यन्त सरल और सुबोध अनुवाद राजा प्रतापसिंहजी की आज्ञा से किया गया था। इसको दो कवियों ने बड़े परिश्रम से पूरा किया था जिनमें से एक सोमनाथजी थे और दूसरे कृष्ण कवि (कलानिधि)। इसके, बाल, लंका और उत्तरकांड कलानिधि ने, तथा अयोध्या, आरण्य, किष्किन्धा और सुन्दरकांड सोमनाथजी ने लिखे हैं। अपने लिखे कांडों को सोमनाथजी ने 'रामचरित्ररत्नाकर' नाम दिया है। कृष्ण कवि के बालकांड में हमें 'रामचन्द्रोदय' नाम मिला, किन्तु लंकाकांड में 'रामायण' ही लिखा है। सम्भव है यह कापी-लेखक की भूल हो। सोमनाथजी ने कहीं कहीं गद्य (व्रजभाषा) में भी टिप्पणियाँ दे दी हैं। अयोध्याकांड संवत् १७९९ में लिखा गया है। इसमें सन्देह नहीं कि इस बड़े ग्रन्थ के पूरे होने में कई वर्ष लग गये होंगे। पाठकों के मनोरंजन के लिये हम मूल तथा अनुवाद में से कुछ अवतरण देते हैं जिससे पाठकों को इस बात का पता लग जाय कि भाषा तथा भावों पर सोममाथ का कितना अधिकार था।

वाल्मीकि रामायण (मूल)

तां महोल्कामिवाकाशे दीप्यमानां स्वतेजसा।
जहारकाशमाविश्य सीतां वैश्रवणानुजः॥
तस्याः तान्यग्निवर्णानि भूषणानि महीतले।
सधोषाण्यवशीर्यन्त क्षीणास्तारा इवाम्बरात्॥

तस्यास्तनान्तरादभ्रष्टो हारस्ताराधिपद्युतिः ।
वैदेह्या निपतन्भाति गङ्गेव गगनच्युता ॥
उत्पातवाताभिरता नानाद्विजगणायुताः ।
मा भैरिति विधूताग्रा व्याजहुरिव पादपाः ॥
नलिन्योध्वस्त कमलास्त्रस्तमीनजलेचराः ।
सखीमिव गतोत्साहां शोचन्तीवस्म मैथिलीम् ॥
समन्तादभिसपत्य सिंहव्याघ्रमृगद्विजाः ।
अन्वधावंस्तदारोषात्सीताच्छायानुगामिनः ॥
जलप्रपातास्रमुखा शृंगैरुच्छ्रितबाहुभिः ।
सीतायां ह्रियमाणायां विक्रोशन्तीव पर्वताः ॥
ह्रियमाणा तु वैदेहीं दृष्ट्वा दीनो दिवाकरः ।
प्रविध्वस्तप्रभः श्रीमानासीत्पाण्डुरमण्डलः ॥
नास्ति धर्मः कुतः सत्यं नार्जवं नानृशंसता ।
यत्र रामस्य वैदेहीं सीतां हरति रावणः ॥
इति भूतानि सर्वाणि गणशः पर्यदेवयन् ।
वित्रस्तकादीनमुखा रुरुदुर्मृगपोतकाः ॥
उद्वीक्ष्योद्वीक्ष्य नयनैर्भयादिव विलक्षणैः ।
सुप्रवेदित गात्राश्च बभूवुर्वनदेवताः ॥
विक्रोशन्तीं दृढं सीता दृष्ट्वा दुःखं तथागताम् ।
सतामाकुलकेशान्तां विप्रमृष्टविशेषकाम् ॥
जहारात्मविनाशाय दशग्रीवो मनस्विनीम् ॥

(अनुवाद)

पद्धरी छंद—आकासमद्धि उलका समान, जगमगति सिया की द्युति अमान ।
हरि ताहि लै चल्यो लंकनाथ, नहिं बियौ देखिकै और साथ ॥
पुनि ताके भूषन अगिनि रग, छिति में यों बिखरे धुनि सुढग ।
ज्यों छीन पुण्य तारा उदार, अम्बर तें टूटत हैं अपार ॥
सुभ सिय के उरतें सेत हार, गिरि परयो टूटिकै इहि प्रकार ।
आकास गग जनु छिति मझार, आवति है सज्जै तिक्ख धार ॥
उत्पात वात हत बहु विहग, उच्चरे चपल लखि द्रुम कुढग ।
जिन डरै चित्त मे धीर धारि, जनु कहत सियासों द्रुम पुकारि ॥
कमलिनी मलिन सोभा-विहीन, भय-त्रस्त जलेचर सहित दीन ।
जनु सखी सिया की ह्वै उदास, अति सोच करति लै दीह साँस ॥
तब सिंह बाघ अरु मृग विहंग, चहुँ ओरनि तें दौरे ससंग ।
उर अन्तर भरिकै रिस अपार, लखि सिय की छाया बारबार ॥
वर शृग मनों निज भुज उठाय, असुवा सभार झिरना बहाय ।
लै चल्यो सियै ताको पुकारि, जनु पव्वय रोवत दुःख धारि ॥

हयमान सिया कौं लखि दिनेस आभा विहीन भौ सित कुवेस ॥
नहिं धर्म साँच कित रह्यो तत्व, अरु सुद्ध भाव कित सील सत्व ।
जो राघव की तिय सिय सुवेस, हरि ताहि लै चल्यौ रक्ततेस ॥
मृगपोत उच्च आनन उठाइ, नैनन सों देखत जल बहाइ ।
वनदेवतानि के सकल अग, फरहरे त्रास भरिकं कुढग ॥
अरु रुदन करत सिय कौं निहारि, सब जीव गगन रोये पुकारि ।
सीता तपस्विनी रामनारि, रावनकरि दुःखित सुखनिहारि ॥
अति बहत भाल तैं स्वेद धार, मिटि गई भाल बैंदी सुढार ।

दोहा—

दसग्रीव सिय लै चल्यौ, अपने नास अरत्थ ।
बिना बिचारें क्रूरमति, लै अकास की पत्थ ॥

(३) रामपंचाध्यायी—यह पुस्तक विविध छंदों में लिखी गई है। इसका विषय नाम से ही प्रकट है। इसका प्रारम्भ इस प्रकार है:—

जय जय जय बलवीर, मदन मनोहर श्याम घन ।
रमन कलिंदी तीर, सग लिये व्रज सुन्दरिन ॥
जय शुकदेव सपूत, व्यासवंसअवतंस वर ।
विहरत विधि अवधूत, नित गुविन्द छवि छाक छकि ॥

इस पुस्तक के लिखे जाने का काल यों दिया हुआ है:—

सम्वत ठारह सौ बरस, उत्तम अगहन मास ।
शुक्ल द्वितिय सुध दिन भयौ, यहै ग्रन्थ परकास ॥

(४) सिंहासनबत्तीसी अथवा सुजानविलास—यह पुस्तक भरतपुर के राजा सूरजमल की आज्ञा से लिखी गई थी। इसका रचना-काल यों दिया हुआ है:—

सम्वत विक्रम भूप कौ, अट्ठारह सै सात ।
जेठ शुद्ध तृतिया रवौ, भयौ ग्रन्थ अवदात ॥

(५) माधव-विनोद—जैसा कि ऊपर कहा जा चुका है, यह भवभूति के मालतीमाधव नाटक का स्वतंत्र अनुवाद है। यह संवत् १८०६, आश्विन शुक्ला त्रयोदशी, भृगुवार को प्रकाशित हुआ था। इसमें विशेषता यह है कि गद्य का भी अनुवाद पद्य में ही कर दिया गया है। मूल के साथ इस अनुवाद का एक नमूना नीचे दिया जाता है:—

(मूल)

दैवात्पश्येज्जगति विचरन्मत्प्रियां मालती चे-
दाश्वास्यादौ तदनुकथयेन्मौधवीयामवस्थाम् ॥
आशातन्तुर्न च कथयतात्यन्तमुच्छेदनीयः ।
प्राणत्राण कथमपि कृतो यायतादयाः स एकः ॥

(अनुवाद)

सब दिसि डोलत कलोल भरे मेघ तुम
ताप निवारत सलिल बरसाइ कै ;
मालती कहूँ जो रावरे की दीठि आवै तब
मेरी दशा कहियौ दयाकौं सरसाइ कै ;
तो बिनु विकल मधौ भूल्यौ खानपान अरु
भाजि गई नैननि तैं नींदौ अरसाइकै ;
है अब उपाय एक यही सचुपाइ प्यारी
ताहि लै जिवाय सुखचन्द दरसाइकै ;

(६) ध्रुवचरित्र—इसका विषय नाम से ही प्रकट है। यह पुस्तक पाँच उल्लासों में समाप्त हुई है। इसका रचना-काल पुस्तकान्त में यों दिया हुआ है:—

सम्वत ठारह सै बरस, बारह जेठ सुमास।
कृष्ण त्रोदशी वार भृगु, भयो ग्रन्थ परकास॥

(७) महादेवजी कौ ब्याउलौ—इसमें महादेवजी के विवाह का हाल दिया हुआ है। इसका रचना-काल संवत् १८१३ है।

सम्वत ठारेसे बरस, तेरह पौष सुमास।
कृष्ण सुद्वितिया बुद्ध दिन, भयो ग्रन्थ परकास॥

(८) रामकलाधर—यह ग्रन्थ अध्यात्म रामायण के आधार पर लिखा गया है। इसमें अध्यात्म रामायण के एक एक कांड को कई कई मयूखों में विभक्त किया गया है। इसके प्रारम्भ में यह प्रार्थना है:—

जय अनादि अव्यय अमल, प्रबल तेज के धाम।
नारायन अवतार जय, शुभदायक श्रीराम॥
जय महेश सुरसरितधर, सोमेश्वर भगवान।
दीजै बुधि शशिनाथ कौं, सुन्दर कलानिधान॥

प्रत्येक मयूख का अन्त यों हुआ है:—

श्रीबदनसिंह ब्रजमंडल नायक जग जाकौ जस छायौ।
ताकौ कुँवर प्रतापसिंहनर आनंदनिधि अधिकायौ॥
तिहि निमित्त कवि सोमनाथ ने रामचरित्र बनायौ।
राम कलाधर नाम ग्रन्थकौ प्रथम मयूख लसायौ॥

इति श्रीमन्महाराजकुमारजदुकुलावतंस श्रीप्रतापसिंहहेतवे माथुर कवि सोमनाथविरचिते
अध्यात्मरामायणभाषायाम् बालकांडे रामकलाधरे माहात्म्यवर्णनो नाम
प्रथमो मयूखः।

यह ग्रन्थ अपूर्ण मिला—अयोध्या कांड के केवल पाँच मयूखों तक, इसलिये इसके रचना-काल के विषय में कुछ नहीं कहा जा सकता।

(९) दशमस्कंध का उत्तरार्ध—इसका दूसरा नाम 'व्रजेन्द्रविनोद' भी है। खेद है कि बहुत खोजने पर भी पूर्वार्ध हमें नहीं मिला। इसका कुछ नमूना, मूल सहित, यहाँ दिया जाता है।

(मूल)

अस्तिःप्राप्तिश्च कसस्य महिष्यौ भरतर्षभ।
मृते भर्तरि दुःखार्ते ईयतुःस्म पितुर्गृहान् ॥
पित्रे मगधराजाय जरासन्धाय दुःखिते।
वेदयाञ्चक्रतुः सर्वमात्मवैधव्य कारणम् ॥
स तदप्रियमाकर्ण्य शोकामर्षयुतोनृप।
अयादवीं महीं कर्तुं चक्रे परमुद्यमम् ॥

(अनुवाद)

अस्ति प्राप्ति इमि नामनिवारी, नृपति कंस की द्व वर नारी।
कस कंत के मरे दुरूयानी, गई पिता के गृह अकुतानी ॥
मगध राजधानी को नाइक, जरासिंधु हो पितु सब लाइक।
जासों सिगरी कही कहानी, कत मरन की सोक समानी ॥
सो सुनि बात दुःखप्रद भारी, शोक अमर्ष भरयो पनधारी।
जादव बिनु धरती कौं करनो, उद्यम करत भयौ सुख हरनो ॥

इस अनुवाद में भी कवि ने मूल की अधिक परवा न करके स्वतन्त्रता से खूब काम लिया है। कृपा इतनी ही की है कि मूल का भाव प्रायः हाथ से जाने नहीं दिया है। इसका रचना-काल उस प्रतिलिपि में कहीं दिखलाई नहीं दिया जो हमारे देखने में आई।

(१०) प्रेमपचीसी—यह पुस्तक 'नंदकिसोर निमित्त' रची गई थी। कब रची गई थी यह नहीं कहा जा सकता। इसकी भाषा पंजाबी मिश्रित खड़ी बोली सी है। इसमें से एक उदाहरण यहाँ दिया जाता है:—

मस्त रहे अपने ख्यालों में मेरा दरद न आवै है।
बंक विलोकन अनीझार के अब क्यों चोट चुकावै है ॥
आठपहर तन नैन प्रान सौं नित्य बदगी करदा है।
सोमनाथ नेही सै कैसा दिल अन्दर दा परदा है ॥

हरेक छंद की चौथी पंक्ति वही है जो ऊपर के उदाहरण में दी गई है।

सोमनाथ की तरह न जाने कितने और हिन्दी-कवियों के ग्रन्थ इधर उधर छिपे पड़े हैं। इन ग्रन्थ-रत्नों को अंधकार में से निकालने का कोई समुचित प्रबन्ध अभीतक नहीं हो सका है, यह खेद की बात है।

बदरीनाथ भट्ट

اسے سینچا۔ اتحاد ہی کی ہوا میں یہ پودا پھپکا۔ پھولا پھلا اور ایک چھتنار درخت ہوگیا۔ اسکے سائے میں اتحاد کی کیفیت ہے۔ اس کی ہوا میں اتحاد کا اثر ہے اور اب بھی اُسے سرسبز رکھنے کے لئے اتحاد ہی کی آبیاری کی ضرورت ہے۔

سیّد مسعود حسن رضوی۔ بی۔ اے۔ ال۔ ٹی
اُردو لکچرار۔ لکھنؤ یونیورسٹی
لکھنؤ
۱۹۔ اکتوبر سنہ ۱۹۲۲ء

میں ایسی اصلاحیں سوچ رہے ہیں کہ اعراب کی ضرورت ہی باقی نہ رہے یا اگر رہے تو بہت کم اور جو لکھا گیا ہے اس کے سوا کچھ اور نہ پڑھا جا سکے۔ جس وقت یہ اصلاحیں مکمل ہو جائیں گی اُس وقت شاید کسی زبان کی تحریر اُردو کی تحریر کا مقابلہ نہ کر سکے گی۔

حقیقت میں اُردو کی تحریر میں اگر کوئی دقت ہے تو یہ کہ بعض آوازوں کے لئے کئی کئی حرف استعمال کئے جاتے ہیں۔ ا، ع۔ ت، ط۔ س، ث، ص۔ ہ، ح۔ ز، ذ ض، ظ۔ انمیں سے ہر مجموعے کے حروف اُردو میں ایک ہی آواز ظاہر کرتے ہیں (عربی کا ذکر نہیں) جن آوازوں کے لئے ث، ح، ذ، ص، ض، ط، ظ، ع۔ یہ آٹھ حرف ایجاد کئے گئے ہیں وہ ہماری زبان میں موجود نہیں ہیں۔ اس لئے بہ ظاہر یہ فیصلہ بالکل صحیح معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ یہ حرف اُردو کے حروف تہجی سے خارج کر دئے جائیں مگر جہاں تحریر کی آسانی انھیں نکالنا چاہتی ہے وہاں بعض وجہیں اُن کی سفارش بھی کرتی ہیں۔ اوّل تو جن لفظوں میں یہ حرف آجاتے ہیں وہ اپنی اصل کا پتہ دیتے ہیں اور یہ اتنی بڑی خوبی ہے کہ کوئی علم اللسان کا ماہر اسکے مقابلہ میں تحریر کی آسانی کی کچھ بھی پروا نہ کرے گا۔ اُردو کے بعض لفظوں کا املا اُنکے تلفظ کے مطابق نہیں ہے مثلاً "بالکل"، "خواہش" مگران میں بھی یہی خوبی موجود ہے۔ دوسرے بہت سے لفظ جو تلفظ میں یکساں اور معنی میں مختلف ہیں جب لکھدئے جاتے ہیں تو اپنے معنی آپ بتاتے ہیں۔ جیسے ثواب، صواب، جال۔ جبل۔ نال، نعل۔ نذیر، نظیر۔ وغیرہ۔ یہ بھی ایسی خوبی ہے کہ نظر انداز نہیں کی جا سکتی ہے۔

یہ بات بھی غور کرنے کے قابل ہے کہ اُردو کا موجودہ طرز تحریر وہ ہے جو بہت خفیف سے تغیر کے ساتھ ایشیا کے کئی ملکوں۔ یورپ کے بعض خطوں اور افریقہ کے زیادہ حصّے میں رائج ہے۔ اس لئے اگر ملک کی مشترکہ زبان کے لئے ہم اسی کو اختیار کر لیں تو جہاں اُردو زبان ہندوستان کی مختلف قوموں کو ایک کر سکتی ہے وہاں اُردو کی تحریر بھی مختلف ملکوں سے اتحاد کرنے کا ایک ذریعہ بن سکتی ہے۔ یہ ایسی صفت ہے جو ہندوستانی زبانوں میں اُردو کے سوا کسی کو نصیب نہیں۔ وجہ یہ ہے کہ اتحاد ہی نے اُردو کا بیج بویا۔ اتحاد ہی نے

تین طرح پر پڑھ سکتے ہیں خط ۔ خِط ۔ خُط ۔ مگر "خط" اور "خُط" سے ہمارے کان آشنا نہیں اور "خط" پہلے سے ہمارے ذہن میں موجود ہے اس لئے جہاں کہیں ہم "خط" لکھا ہوا دیکھیں گے اُسے بلا تامل "خَط" ہی پڑھیں گے ۔ اگر کبھی ہمارا ذہن بھٹک کر "خِط" یا "خُط" کیطرف چلا جاتا ہے تو یہ خیال کہ ہماری زبان میں "خِط" یا "خُط" کوئی لفظ نہیں ہے اُسے سیدھے راستے پر لگا دیتا ہے ۔ پھر اگر لفظوں پر نقطے اور اعراب لگا دئے جائیں تو الگ الگ لفظوں کے پڑھنے میں بھی کبھی غلطی نہیں ہو سکتی ۔ اب رہا خط شکست وہ ناگری تحریر میں بھی اتنا ہی مشکل ہے جتنا فارسی تحریر میں ۔ اس کے پڑھنے کے لئے دونوں صورتوں میں کافی مشق و مہارت کی ضرورت ہے ۔ اس کے علاوہ میرا تو خیال ہے کہ اُردو کی اُس تحریر کا جس پر اعراب نہ لگے ہوں ناگری سے نہیں کیتھی سے مقابلہ کرنا چاہیئے ۔ کیونکہ کیتھی اصل میں بے اعراب کی ناگری تحریر ہے ۔ جس طرح عجلت کے خیال سے کیتھی میں پائی اور ماترا وغیرہ نہیں لگاتے ہیں اسی طرح اُردو میں زیر ۔ زبر ۔ پیش وغیرہ نہیں دیتے ہیں ۔ اور جس طرح کیتھی کو بغیر پائی اور ماترے کے صرف قرینے سے صحیح پڑھ سکتے ہیں اسی طرح اُردو کو بغیر اعراب کے یہ بھی یاد رکھنا چاہیے کہ غلطی کا احتمال کیتھی میں اُردو سے کہیں زیادہ ہے ۔ اگر بغیر اعراب کے اُردو میں ایک لفظ پانچ طرح پر پڑھا جا سکتا ہے تو کیتھی میں دس طرح پر ۔

اُردو کی تحریر پر دوسرا اعتراض یہ ہے کہ اُس کا سیکھنا مشکل ہے ۔ یہ سچ ہے کہ ہندی لکھنا اُردو لکھنے سے جلد آجاتا ہے میرا خیال ہے کہ معمولی آدمی ہندی لکھنا تین دن میں اور اُردو لکھنا ایک ہفتے میں سیکھ سکتا ہے لیکن اب ذرا اس بات پر یوں نظر کرو کہ اگر ایک آدمی بیس برس تک برابر اُردو حرفوں میں لکھتا رہے اور دوسرا ہندی حرفوں میں تو کون کتنا زیادہ لکھ ڈالے گا ۔ اور سچ کہو کہ ابتدا میں جو چار دن کا نقصان ہوا تھا اس کے بدلے میں کتنا نفع ہوگا ۔ ہے یہ کہ اُردو میں لکھنے کا وہ ڈھنگ اختیار کیا گیا ہے جو مختصر نویسی کا ایک اعلےٰ نمونہ ہے ۔ اُس کی بہت بڑی خوبی یہ ہے کہ لکھنے میں وقت بھی کم لگتا ہے اور کاغذ بھی اور کون عقلمند ہوگا جو اِس عجلت پسندی اور اقتصادی کشمکش کے زمانے میں وقت اور کاغذ کی یہ بچت نظر انداز کر دیگا ! اِس مقام پر مجھے یہ بھی بتا دینا چاہیئے کہ آجکل کچھ لوگ اُردو رسم الخط

سمجھ میں آئی ہے اُسے کہے دیتا ہوں۔ میری رائے میں اُردو میں ہندی کی وہ بحریں لانا چاہیئے جن میں روانی کے ساتھ شعر موزوں ہوسکتے ہوں اور ہندی "گویوں" کو اُردو کی بحروں سے پرہیز نہ کرنا چاہیئے۔ بلکہ میرا تو یہ خیال ہے کہ "کھڑی بولی" کی شاعری کے لئے اُردو کی بحریں پُرانی ہندی بحروں سے زیادہ موزوں ہیں۔ میرے اس بیان کا ثبوت یہ ہے کہ آجکل "کھڑی بولی" کی جو نظمیں پُرانی ہندی بحروں میں کہی گئی ہیں وہ کتنی بے مزہ اور روکھی پھیکی ہیں۔ تعقید کا عیب اُن میں قدم قدم پر موجود ہے اور روانی اور اثر تو نام کو نہیں ہے۔ ہندی کے بعض شاعروں نے یہ راز سمجھ لیا ہے اور اپنی روش بدل دی ہے۔

خلاصہ اس تحریر کا یہ ہے کہ اُردو لکھو تو کوشش کرو کہ تمھارا مطلب ہندی جاننے والے بھی سمجھ سکیں اور ہندی لکھو تو وہ زبان اختیار کرو جو اُردو جاننے والوں کے لئے بھی مشکل نہ ہو۔ اُردو اور ہندی کے مل کر ایک ہوجانے کی سب سے بہتر تدبیر یہی ہے۔ یہ نکتہ بھی یاد رکھو کہ جو بولتے ہو وہی لکھو۔ کسی مصنوعی زبان کو رواج دینا فطرت سے لڑنا ہے۔

(۸) حروف کا فرق اصل میں سب سے بڑا فرق ہے۔ میری رائے میں ہر شخص کو فارسی اور ناگری دونوں طرح کے حرف سیکھنا چاہیے کہ اُردو عبارت بھی پڑھ سکے اور ہندی بھی۔ رہا لکھنا اس میں اختیار ہے جس کا جی چاہے فارسی حرفوں میں لکھے جس کا جی چاہے ناگری حرفوں میں لکھے۔ میں خود فارسی حروف پسند کرتا ہوں۔ اس لئے اُردو کی موجودہ تحریر پر جو اعتراض کئے گئے ہیں اُن پر ایک نظر ڈالنا چاہتا ہوں۔ ناگری حرفوں کے طرفدار فارسی تحریر میں یہ نقص نکالتے ہیں کہ اس میں ایک ہی لفظ کو کئی طرح پڑھ سکتے ہیں۔ بظاہر یہ اعتراض بہت وزنی معلوم ہوتا ہے لیکن اسکا وزن بہت گھٹ جاتا ہے جب ہم یہ دیکھتے ہیں کہ حقیقت میں یہ دقت بہت کم پیش آتی ہے۔ اتنی کم کہ الشاذ کالمعدوم کا حکم رکھتی ہے۔ ممکن ہے کہ اگر تنہا ایک لفظ یا ایک فقرہ کہیں لکھا ہو تو اُس کے پڑھنے میں کبھی غلطی ہوجائے مگر بالعموم لفظ کسی جملے میں اور فقرہ کسی عبارت میں ہوتا ہے اور اُس لفظ کے گرد و پیش کے لفظ اور اس فقرے کے آس پاس کے فقرے اس کے پڑھنے میں مدد دیتے ہیں۔ ایک بات اور بھی ہے جسے میں ایک مثال دیکر سمجھاؤنگا۔ فرض کیجئے کہ کہیں لفظ "خط" لکھا ہوا ہے اسے

غرض یہ ہے کہ نہ اُردو لکھنے والے صرف عربی و فارسی ہی سے ہمیشہ مدد لیں اور نہ ہندی لکھنے والے صرف سنسکرت ہی سے۔ نہ اُنھیں سنسکرت سے "اسپیوگ" کرنا چاہیے اور نہ اِنھیں عربی و فارسی سے "ترک موالات"۔

(۵) جو لوگ صحیح ذوق رکھتے ہیں وہ جانتے ہیں کہ مشکل لفظوں اور مشکل ترکیبوں کی بھرمار سے نہ عبارت کی شان بڑھتی ہے نہ لکھنے والے کی قابلیت ظاہر ہوتی ہے۔ عربی فارسی یا سنسکرت کے لفظ اور فقرے لکھ دینے سے اُردو یا ہندی کی واقفیت کیسے ثابت ہوگی! جن لوگوں کو عربی فارسی یا سنسکرت میں قابلیت کا دعوے ہو وہ انھیں زبانوں میں اپنے قلم کا زور دکھائیں بیچاری اُردو یا ہندی کو کیوں تکلیف دیتے ہیں۔ زبان کی سب سے بڑی خوبی یہ ہے کہ آسان سے آسان لفظوں میں مشکل سے مشکل اور نازک سے نازک مطلب ادا کر دیا جائے۔ اب رہا اپنی زبان میں دوسری زبانوں کی کہاوتیں مثلیں اور شعر وغیرہ نقل کرنا تو جیسی عربی ویسی فارسی جیسی سنسکرت ویسی پراکرت۔ بلکہ آپ کا جی چاہے تو انگریزی و فرانسیسی۔ لاطینی و جرمنی۔ عبرانی و سریانی۔ چینی و جاپانی عبارت بھی نقل کیجئے۔ مطلب صرف وہی سمجھیں گے جو ان زبانوں سے واقف ہیں۔ ہاں یہاں میں پھر کہونگا کہ اُردو کے لئے عربی و فارسی کو اور ہندی کے لئے سنسکرت کو مخصوص کر دینا ٹھیک نہیں۔ اُردو میں سنسکرت کے قول نقل کیجئے اور ہندی میں عربی و فارسی کے۔

(۶) استعارہ۔ تشبیہ۔ تلمیح وغیرہ زبان کے زیور ہیں۔ اس طرح کا سامان جتنا زیادہ ہوگا اتنی ہی زبان میں خوبصورتی۔ لوچ۔ اختصار اور ادائے مطلب کی قابلیت بڑھ جائیگی۔ اس لیے میری رائے ہے کہ جو تشبیہیں اور استعارے وغیرہ اب تک اُردو سے مخصوص ہیں اُنھیں ہندی والے بھی اپنے یہاں رواج دیں اور جو ہندی سے مخصوص ہیں وہ اُردو میں لائے جائیں۔ اس طرح دونوں زبانوں میں کچھ خوبیاں بھی بڑھ جائیں گی اور یہ اختلاف بھی رفتہ رفتہ دور ہو جائے گا۔

(۷) عروض کے متعلق مجھے کچھ کہنے کا حق نہیں ہے۔ نہ میں اُردو کے عروض سے بخوبی آگاہ ہوں اور نہ ہندی "پنگل" سے واقف۔ البتہ اُردو اور ہندی نظموں کے مطالعے سے ایک بات

نعوذ۔ بزنا ہ ۔ سُوَر ۔ نرٹکار (نون غنہ) چنڈال ۔ لینٹرن ۔ آزڈرلی ۔ ہیں ۔ اسی طرح اگر لوگ عام طور پر کسی لفظ سے وہ معنی مراد لینے لگیں جس کے لئے وہ لفظ بنایا نہیں گیا تھا تو ہم کو وہی عام فہم معنی مراد لینا چاہیے ۔ مثلاً تکرار کے معنی جھگڑا ۔ روزگار کے معنی نوکری یا پیشہ خفیف کے معنی شرمندہ ۔ غرور کے معنی گھمنڈ ۔ قضا کے معنی موت ۔ عطّار کے معنی دوا فروش ۔ حجّام کے معنی نائی ہی لینا چاہیے ۔ گو کہ عربی اور فارسی میں ان لفظوں کے معنی کچھ اور ہیں ۔

(۲) جو محاورے مثلیں ۔ کہاوتیں لوگوں کی زبانوں پر چڑھ گئی ہیں اُنھیں سب لوگ استعمال کریں اور ایسے محاوروں وغیرہ سے پرہیز کریں جن کا سمجھنے والا سو میں ایک آدمی ہو ۔

(۳) نئے خیال اکثر نئی چیزیں دیکھنے یا نئی زبان سیکھنے سے پیدا ہوتے ہیں ۔ اگر کسی خیال کے لئے ہمارے پاس لفظ نہ ہو تو ہمیں نہ سنسکرت کی طرف دوڑنا چاہیے نہ عربی فارسی کیطرف پہلے ہمیں ہندوستان کی دوسری زبانوں کو ٹٹولنا چاہیئے اور جہاں کہیں ہمارے کام کا لفظ ملے اُسے لے لینا چاہیئے ۔ اِس ذریعہ سے اُردو ہندی اور ان کی دوسری بہنوں میں میل جول بھی بڑھتا رہے گا اور ہماری زبان کو تمام ہندوستان کی زبان بننے میں زیادہ آسانی ہو گی ۔ اگر ہندوستانی زبانوں کا خزانہ اُس لفظ سے خالی ہو تو جس ملک سے وہ نئی چیز آئی ہے یا جس زبان نے وہ نیا خیال ہمارے دل میں پیدا کیا ہے اُسی سے ہم لفظ بھی لے لیں ۔ یہ اِس سے بدرجہا بہتر ہے کہ ہم عربی یا سنسکرت کا ایک نہایت مشکل لفظ ڈھونڈھ لائیں اور اُسے کسی خاص مفہوم کے لئے استعمال کرنے لگیں ۔ مگر کسی دوسری زبان سے لفظ لینے یا لفظ گڑھنے میں یہ خیال ضرور رکھنا چاہیئے کہ اُس کی آواز ہماری زبان کے لفظوں سے ملتی جلتی ہوئی ہو ۔ اگر ضرورت ہو تو اِس کی صورت میں ایسی تبدیلی کر دیں کہ جب وہ ہمارے لفظوں کی صف میں بیٹھے تو اجنبی نہ معلوم ہو ۔ اب اگر ایک بات کے لئے کئی کئی لفظ آجائیں تو کچھ دن کے بعد دیکھنا چاہیے کہ کون سا لفظ سب سے زیادہ رواج پا گیا ہے اور اُسی کو اختیار کر لینا چاہیے ۔ ایک صورت یہ بھی ہو سکتی ہے کہ وہ نئی چیز ہمیں نے بنائی ہو یا وہ نیا خیال ہمارے ہی دل میں پیدا ہوا ہو ۔ ایسی حالت میں ہم کو ایک نیا لفظ بھی گڑھ لینا چاہیے ۔

(۴) اِس اختلاف کو مٹانے کی وہی تدبیر ہے جو ہم نے ابھی بیان کی ۔ ہماری خاص

ترجمہ ہو کر آئیں اور ہندی میں زیادہ تر سنسکرت سے۔

(۳) اُردو لکھنے والوں کو جب کسی خیال کے لئے بول چال کی زبان میں کوئی لفظ نہیں ملتا ہے تو وہ فارسی یا عربی لفظ لکھ دیتے ہیں ہندی لکھنے والے ایسے موقعوں پر سنسکرت لفظوں سے کام چلاتے ہیں۔

(۴) اُردو میں علمی اصطلاحیں عربی فارسی سے لیتے ہیں اور ہندی میں سنسکرت سے۔

(۵) اُردو میں جب عبارت کو بہت شاندار بنانا یا اپنی قابلیت دکھانا چاہتے ہیں تو عربی لفظ فارسی ترکیبیں اور عربی فارسی کے شعر اور کہاوتیں وغیرہ نقل کرتے ہیں اور ہندی میں سنسکرت سے مدد لیتے ہیں۔

(۶) اُردو میں استعارے تشبیہیں تلمیحیں وغیرہ عربی اور فارسی ادبیات سے لیگئی ہیں اور ہندی میں سنسکرت لٹریچر سے۔

(۷) اُردو شاعری میں فارسی کا عروض مستعمل ہے اور ہندی شاعری میں سنسکرت کا۔

(۸) اُردو فارسی حرفوں میں لکھی جاتی ہے اور ہندی ناگری حرفوں میں۔ یہی سب سے زیادہ کھلا ہوا فرق ہے۔

اُردو اور ہندی میں جو جو اختلاف ہیں وہ ترتیب وار بیان کر دئے گئے۔ اب ایک سلسلے سے ان اختلافوں کو دور کرنے کی تدبیریں جو میری سمجھ میں آئی ہیں بیان کرتا ہوں۔ میرا مطلب یہ نہیں ہے کہ ہر تدبیر پر فوراً حرف بحرف عمل شروع کر دیا جائے۔ میں چاہتا ہوں[1] کہ ہر شخص ان باتوں پر دھیان رکھے اور جہاں تک ہو سکے ان پر عمل کرے رفتہ رفتہ ایک مدت کے بعد وہ دن بھی آجائے گا کہ یہ دونوں زبانیں ملکر ایک ہو جائیں گی۔

(۱) جب ایک ہی بات کے لئے دو لفظ ملیں تو اُسے ترجیح دیجائے جسے زیادہ آدمی بغیر سمجھائے ہوئے سمجھ سکتے ہوں اس کا ذرا بھی خیال نہ کیا جائے کہ وہ لفظ عربی ہے یا فارسی۔ سنسکرت ہے یا پراکرت۔ دوسرے اگر لوگ "عام طور" پر کسی لفظ کا غلط تلفظ کرنے لگے ہوں تو اُسکو صحیح کرنے کی کوشش نہ کیجائے۔ میری مراد ایسے لفظوں سے ہے جیسے کھیت۔ برات۔ پھاگن فوج۔ بناہ۔ سنسار۔ چاند۔ لالٹین۔ آرسی۔ کہ اصل میں "کشیتر" "برایترا" "پھالگنتر (نون غنہ)

[1] ایک ایک اختلاف کو الگ الگ لیجیے اور اُسے دور کرنے کی تدبیر پر غور کیجیے

سرکار دیگی۔ سرکار سے تنخواہ پانے والے آدمی سے اس بات کا بشواس (یقین) رکھنا کہ وہ اُس موقع پر بھی سکھوں کی بھلائی کرے گا جس سمے (وقت) گورنمنٹ کے بھے (خوف) اور سکھوں کے فائدے کا پرشن (سوال) اُپستھت (پیدا) ہوگا نررتھک (فضول) ہے۔ ہم سراسر دیکھتے ہیں کہ سرکار سے تنخواہ پانے یا منسٹر بننے کے بعد لوگوں کو ماڈریٹ (MODERATE) سبھاؤں تک سے استعفا دے دینا پڑا ہے ..... کیسے آشا (امید) کریں کہ اتنی زبردست بہادر اور اپنے دھارمک (مذہبی) سدھانتوں (اصول) کے سامنے پرانوں (جانوں) کو بھی کچھ نہ سمجھنے والی جات (ذات) کے فائدے کے مقابلے میں وے (وہ) اپنی تنخواہ تھا (اور) سرکار کے رعب داب کی تنک (ذرا) بھی پرواہ نہ کریں گے۔" اسی پرچے میں سیتلا پرشاد بشنوئی کی ایک نظم بھی چھپی ہے اسکے ابتدائی دو شعر لکھتا ہوں۔

ابرو میں خم ہے آنکھوں میں حرکت غرور کی — کیا جانے موت آئی ہے کس بے قصور کی
حُبِّ وطن کی مَے سے ہوں میں مست ہو رہا — حاجت نہیں مجھے ہے شراب طہور کی

اسی اخبار کے ۱۸۔ اکتوبر کے پرچے میں راجہ رام جیسوال کی ایک نظم ہے اس کے بھی دو شعر سُن لیجئے۔

بجے سنیہ کی آجکل ہو رہی ہے — اَسہیوگ دھارا ایتہاسک ہو رہی ہے
اکالی تو ڈرتے نہیں کال سے بھی — گورنمنٹ کیوں بے عقل (بے وقوف) ہو رہی ہے

اب تو اُردو اور ہندی کا فرق سمجھ میں آگیا ہوگا۔ حقیقت میں دونوں زبانیں بالکل ایک ہیں۔ اگر کچھ فرق ہے تو یہ کہ

(۱) اُردو میں فارسی عربی کے لفظ زیادہ ہیں۔ سنسکرت لفظ کم ہیں اور جو ہیں بھی اُن کی صورت کچھ نہ کچھ بدل گئی ہے۔ ہندی میں اس کا اُلٹا ہے۔ فارسی عربی کے لفظ کم اور سنسکرت کے زیادہ ہیں اور ان میں سے اکثر اپنی اصلی شکل میں ہیں (اُن لفظوں کا ذکر نہیں جو دونوں زبانوں میں مشترک ہیں)

(۲) محاورے۔ کہاوتیں۔ مثلیں وغیرہ اُردو میں زیادہ تر فارسی اور کچھ عربی سے

لگر مٹے کی ڈنڈی کی طرح اسے توڑ ڈالوں اور اگر ایسا نہ کر سکوں تو آقا کے قدموں کی قسم میں پھر کمان ہاتھ میں نہ لونگا۔

لکھن سکوپ بچن جب بولے ڈگمگانی مہی دِگج ڈولے

لچھمن غصے سے بھرے ہوئے لفظ جب بولے ڈگمگائی زمین دِگج[1] ہلے

یہ تھی برج بھاشا یا پرانی ہندی۔ ظاہر ہے کہ آج کل کے شریف ہندو ہوں یا مسلمان اس زبان میں بات چیت نہیں کرتے ہیں اور ہندی کے پجاری بھی اس زبان کو تمام ہندوستان کی زبان بنانا نہیں چاہتے ہیں۔ آجکل جس ہندی کا زور ہے اُسے کھڑی بولی کہتے ہیں۔ اس مضمون میں جہاں کہیں ہندی کا لفظ آئے گا اُس سے یہی کھڑی بولی مراد ہوگی۔ اب آج کل کی ہندی کا نمونہ دیکھئے۔

اِس وقت "ورتمان" اخبار کا ۱۵۔ اکتوبر کا پرچہ میرے سامنے ہے۔ اس کی عبارت دو مقاموں سے نقل کرتا ہوں۔ مشکل لفظوں کے معنی اُن کے سامنے بریکیٹ میں لکھ دئے ہیں۔

(۱) "کانپور کے بازار میں جو ولایتی مال آگیا ہے اُسکا کوئی خریدار نظر نہیں آتا۔ اگر نیچسٹر والے بٹہ کاٹ کر واپس کر لیویں تو بڑی کرپا (مہربانی) ہو۔ کانپور والے ایسی ہی ایک درخواست لکھ کر بھیجنے والے ہیں۔"

(۲) "سکھ جات (ذات) نے ثابت کر دیا کہ پرتگیہ (عہد) کر کے اُسے اِس پرکار (طرح) نبھایا (نباہا) جاتا ہے۔ اپنا[1] بلدان دیکر اپنے ادھکار (حقوق) اس پرکار (طرح) پراپت (حاصل) کیئے جاتے ہیں۔ حقوق حاصل کرنے میں قربانی اِس طرح دیجاتی ہے ..... سرکار اب گرودوار کے جھگڑے نپٹانے کے لئے ایک بِل (Bill) بنانے والی ہے۔ جہاں تک اِس بِل کے حالات ابھی تک پرکاشت (شائع) ہو چکے ہیں اُن سے پتہ چلتا ہے کہ گرودوار بِل سکھوں کی ساری آشاؤں (امیدوں) پر پانی پھیرنے والا ہوگا ..... اس بل میں ایک اور دوش (نقص) ہے اور وہ یہ ہے کہ اُس کے تینوں ممبروں کو تنخواہ

[1] دِگج وہ چار ہاتھی ہیں جن پر ہندوؤں کے اعتقاد میں زمین قائم ہے۔

رہا چڑھاؤب تورب بھائی　　تِل بھر بھُومی نہ سکیو چھُڑائی
رہا چڑھانا　توڑنا　بھائی　　تل بھر زمین نہ سکے چھُڑا

تجھو آش بچ بچ گرہ جاہوٗ　　لکھا نہ بِدھی بَیدیہی سبِاہوٗ
چھوڑو آس اپنے اپنے گھر جاؤ　　لکھا نہ خدا نے بیدیہی[1] (کا)　بیاہ

جو جنتیوں بِن بھٹ مہی بھائی　　تو پَرن کرِ کرتیوں نہ ہنسائی
جو جانتا میں بے بہادر زمین (کو) بھائی　　تو عہد کر (کے) کرتا میں نہ ہنسی

جنک بچن سُن سب نر ناری　　دیکھ جانکی[2] بھئے دُکھاری
جنک (کے)، لفظ سُن (کے)، سب مرد عورتیں　　دیکھ (کے)، جانکی (کو) ہوئے رنجیدہ

اس مجمع میں رام اور لچھمن بھی موجود تھے۔ جنک کی باتیں لچھمن کو بُری لگیں بھائی کے قدموں پر سر رکھ کر کہا۔

رگھوبنسِن[3] ماں جہاں کوٗ ہوئی　　تہی سماج اَس کہے نہ کوئی
رگھوبنسیوں میں جہاں کوئی ہو　　اُس محفل (میں) ایسا کہے نہ کوئی

آپ کی موجودگی میں ایسے الفاظ کہنا جنک کے لئے مناسب نہ تھا۔ آپ تو آپ اگر حکم ہو تو میں اس زمین کو گیند کی طرح اُٹھالوں اور

کاچے گھٹ جم ڈاروں پھوری　　سکوں میرو مُولک اِو توری
کچے گھڑے کیطرح ڈالوں پھوڑ　　سکوں پہاڑ مولی کیطرح توڑ

اس پُرانی کمان کی کیا ہستی۔ اگر اجازت ہو تو

کمل نال اِم چاپ چڑھاؤں　　شت یوجن[4] پرمان لے دھاؤں
کنول (کی) ڈنڈی کیطرح کمان چڑھاؤں　　سو یوجن آسانی سے لے (کر) دوڑوں

[1] بیدیہی سیتا کا دوسرا نام ہے۔

[2] جانکی بھی سیتا ہی کو کہتے ہیں۔

[3] رام لچھمن رگھوبنسی خاندان کے چھتری تھے۔

[4] یوجن آٹھ میل کے برابر ہوتا ہے۔

خاص فرق نہیں ہے۔ مصدر دونوں میں ایک ہیں۔ اشتقاق کے قاعدے یکساں ہیں۔ جملے میں لفظوں کی ترتیب ایک ہے۔ تاکید وغیرہ کے طریقے یکساں ہیں۔ ہزاروں نہیں بلکہ لاکھوں لفظ ایسے ہیں جو اُردو میں بھی آتے ہیں اور ہندی میں بھی۔ اچھا ان باتوں کو بھی جانے دو۔ ہندی کے حمایتی کہتے ہیں کہ عربی فارسی ملی ہوئی ہندی کا نام اُردو ہے۔ اُردو کے طرفداروں کا قول ہے کہ سنسکرت ملی ہوئی اُردو کو ہندی کہتے ہیں۔ ان دعووں سے بھی یہی ثابت ہوتا ہے کہ حقیقت میں اُردو اور ہندی ایک ہیں صرف نام کا ہیر پھیر ہے یورپ والوں کی تیز نگاہیں پہلے ہی اِس راز تک پہونچ گئی تھیں۔ اُنھوں نے دونوں کا نام "ہندوستانی" رکھ کر یہ جھگڑا چکانا چاہا تھا مگر نام بدلنے سے کام نہ چلا۔ اسلیے ہمارا فرض ہے کہ اگر حقیقت میں اُردو اور ہندی میں کچھ فرق ہو تو اُسے ظاہر کریں اور اُسے مٹانے کی تدبیریں نکالیں۔

پہلے یہ بتا دینا ضروری ہے کہ اُردو کے زور پکڑنے سے پہلے شمالی ہندوستان میں برج بھاشا کا راج تھا۔ مہاتما تلسی داس کی بے نظیر کتاب "رام چرت مانس" جو دنیا میں **رامائن** کے نام سے مشہور ہے اِسی زبان میں ہے۔ یہ اکبری عہد میں لکھی گئی تھی مگر آج بھی شاعری اُسے آنکھوں سے لگاتی ہے اور عقیدت اُسے پوجتی ہے۔ میں اِس مقدس کتاب سے کچھ چوپائیاں سُناتا ہوں اور برج بھاشا کا نمونہ دکھاتا ہوں (رامائن کی عبارت جلی حرفوں میں ہے۔ ہر لفظ کے نیچے اس کا اُردو ترجمہ ہے) **سیتا** جی کے باپ راجہ **جنک** نے عہد کیا تھا کہ جس کسی میں اتنی طاقت ہو کہ وہ **شیو** جی کی کمان چڑھاوے اُس کے ساتھ اپنی بیٹی کا بیاہ رچائیں گے۔ سُوئمبر کیا گیا۔ دُور دُور سے راجہ مہاراجہ اپنا زور اور اپنی قسمت آزمانے کے لئے آئے۔ مگر کوئی اِس کمان کو اپنی جگہ سے سرکا بھی نہ سکا۔ یہ دیکھ کر راجہ جنک نے اُن سب کو مخاطب کر کے کہا۔

کہہو کاہے یہ لابھ نہ بھاوا — کاہو نہ شنکر چاپ چڑھاوا
کہو کسی کو یہ نفع نہ بھایا — کسی نے نہ شنکر[1] کی کمان چڑھائی

[1] شنکر شیو جی کا دوسرا نام ہے۔

سارے ہندوستان کی ایک زبان

کیا اُردو اور ہندی دو زبانیں ہیں

ہندوستان کا ملک ایک نمائشگاہ ہے کہ طرح طرح کا آدمی بھانت بھانت کی بولی بول رہا ہے۔ کوئی ایرانی ہے کوئی تورانی۔ کوئی عربی ہے کوئی ترکستانی۔ کوئی مغل ہے کوئی پٹھان۔ کوئی راٹھور ہے کوئی چوہان۔ کوئی گوراہے کوئی کالا۔ کوئی ادنےٰ ہے کوئی اعلیٰ کوئی پتھر پوجتا ہے کوئی آگ۔ کوئی گوشت کھاتا ہے کوئی ساگ۔ ان سب میں میل جول ہو تو کیونکر ہو۔ سب سے بڑی مصیبت یہ ہے کہ چپّے چپّے کی زبان جُدا ہے۔ ایک قطعے کا آدمی دوسرے قطعے کے آدمی سے ملتا ہے تو ایک دوسرے کا مُنھ دیکھتا ہے۔ نہ اپنی کہہ سکتا ہے نہ دوسرے کی سمجھ سکتا ہے۔ جب حال یہ ہو تو خیال میں یکرنگی کہاں۔ یہی وجہ ہے کہ سارا ملک ایک دل ہو کر کسی کام میں نہیں لگتا۔ ایک کہتا ہے آم دوسرا کہتا ہے امبی۔ ایک جاتا ہے پورب دوسرا جاتا ہے پچھم۔ کہاں کا اتحاد۔ کیسی قومیت اور کس کی ترقی! ملک کے بہی خواہوں نے جب یہ حال دیکھا تو اُنھیں دُھن ہوئی کہ کسی ایک زبان کو ملک بھر میں پھیلائیں اور باغ ہند کے بکھرے ہوئے رنگ بہ رنگ پھولوں کو ایک لڑی میں گوندھ کر "بھارت ماتا" کے گلے کا ہار بنائیں۔ اُنھوں نے تجربے سے پوچھا کہ کون ایسی زبان ہے جسے سب سے زیادہ لوگ سمجھتے ہوں اور تھوڑی سی کوشش سے سارا ملک سمجھنے لگے۔ جواب میں اسنے کسی سے کہدیا "اُردو" اور کسی سے "ہندی"۔ عقل حیران تھی کہ ایک سوال کے دو جواب کیسے۔ غور کرتے کرتے آخر یہ گتھی سُلجھ گئی اور تجربے کی بات ٹھیک نکلی۔ ہے یوں کہ اُردو اور ہندی ایک ہی بولی کے دو نام ہیں۔ یہ دو الگ الگ زبانیں نہیں ہیں اس لئے کہ دونوں کی صرف و نحو میں کوئی

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UNIVERSITY NOTES.

The University of Allahabad has conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Science upon our Vice-Chancellor. We offer him our hearty congratulations.

Raja Sir Harnam Singh Ahluwalia, K.C.I.E., has most generously presented to the University the sum of Rs. 5,000 to found the following medals :

(1) The Sir Harnam Singh—Sir Harcourt Butler medal for Oriental Studies.

(2) The Sir Harnam Singh—Sir Ludovic Porter medal for Economics and Commercial Studies.

(3) The Sir Harnam Singh—Raja of Mahmudabad medal for Medicine.

Dr. K. N. Bahl has been elected as the Lucknow University representative to the joint conference of the Universities of the United Provinces which will meet shortly to discuss questions relating to the admission of Indian students to the University of Oxford.

The Lucknow University degree of Medicine has been recognised by the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons as qualifying holders of that degree to appear for the L.R.C.P. and M.R.C.S.

Dr. Wali Mohammad, Ph.D., has been appointed Librarian.

Pandit J. N. Chak, B.A., Bar-at-Law, has been appointed Proctor.

The Honorary Treasurer of the University Mr. E. A. H. Blunt, O.B.E., has resigned his post.

On Tuesday, 9th January, the Vice-Chancellor gave a garden party in the grounds of King George's Medical

College to members of the Indian Science Congress. A detailed report of the Session of the Congress at Lucknow will appear in our next number.

Faculty of Arts.

Department of Economics and Sociology.

Mr. Bhujanga Bhusan Mukherjee, Reader in Economics, took the Honours and M. A. Students of the Department of Economics and Sociology to Cawnpore on Sunday the 28th January. The McRobertganj Labour Settlement of the Lalimli Mills was visited by the party which broke up into groups for the collection of data regarding housing, family budgets, industrial fatigue, accidents, etc, on which a questionnaire had been previously framed. The Department hopes to publish the results of the survey of the different types of industrial labour in Cawnpore. Our thanks are due to the officers of the Settlement who greatly assisted this enquiry.

At the Indian Economic Conference held in Lahore in the second week of January, Dr. Radha Kamal Mukherjee, delivered a lecture on The New Economics and the Eastern Outlook.

Department of Indian History.

Mr. R. Burn, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., delivered the first of his lectures on Ancient Indian Coins on 24th January last. The lecturer began by pointing out that the science of numismatics was comparatively new. People first took the ancient coins on account of their artistic merit. When the importance of inscription and study of architecture was realized the value of coins for historical purposes was also recognised. Every coin is a historical document which may illustrate some fact in the history of trade, art, or religion. To ascertain what it can teach it is necessary to examine its type, inscription, and the standard. Mr. Burns gave a summary of the Dynasties which had struck coin in India from the time of the Greek to the time of the Mahomedans.

He showed how the study of coins had led to the decipherment of the Kharosbthi alphabet.

The value of coins in fixing the date of Kings not mentioned in history and the light thrown on religious cults in different periods was then referred to. Some coins gave not only the ruler's name but also the name of his father and mother. From the weights of the coins important deductions can be made as to trade and other economic progress.

The lecture was followed by an exhibition of typical coins from the learned lecturer's private collection.

Department of Arabic and Persian.

Khalil Bin Mohammad Arab has been appointed Lecturer in Arabic.

Faculty of Medicine.

Dr. B. G. S. Acharya, B.A., M.B.C.M., F.R.C.S, M.R C.S., L.R.C.P., D.O., has been appointed Professor of Ophthalmology.

BACHELOR OF COMMERCE ASSOCIATION.

The Bachelor of Commerce Association was inaugurated on 17th of August, 1922, under the Presidentship of Mr. Mukand Lal Agarwala, Professor of Commerce, Lucknow Christian College.

The objects of the Association are as follows :—

1. To develop *esprit-de-corps* among the members of the Association.

2. To bring the Association into touch with the outside public by means of the following :—

(*a*) Reading papers, organising debates and lectures on Economic, Commercial and allied subjects.

(*b*) Contributing articles to the University Journal.

(*c*) Arranging Dramas, Excursions, and Picnics.

3. To safeguard the interests of the members.

4. To undertake all such work as may be required for fulfilment of the above objects.

The following are the office-bearers of its first session 1922-23 :—

(1) M. L. Agarwala, Esq., B. Com. (Previous), Chairman.

(2) Mr. Mahbubur-Rahman, B. Com. (Final), Secretary.

(3) Mr. Sardari Lal Nagrath, B. Com. (Final), Joint Secretary.

(4) Mr. J. S. Pachauli, B. Com. (Previous), Treasurer.

The other members of the Executive Committee are :

Mr. Jai Dev Prasad Gupta, B. Com. (Previous). Mr. Gurdit Singh. B. Com. (Previous). Mr. Jagan Nath Pershad, B. Com. (Final). Mr. Ladly Pershad Ahluwalia, B. Com. (Final). Mr. Shiv Chand, B. Com. (Previous).

Two debates have been held so far, and the reports of the same have been given to the press.

I.—25th November, 1922. Question for debate:—"This house is of opinion that the Non-co-operation Movement has been a success."

Speakers.—Mr. Jai Dev Prasad Gupta, Proposer. Mr. D. Pant, Opposer. Mr. Bala Pershad, Rev. E. M. Moffatt, M.A., Mr. Balwan Singh, Mr. J. S. Pachauli,

II.—9th December, 1922. Question for debate:—"This house is of opinion that the Economic condition of the majority of the people of India is growing worse day by day."

Speakers:—Daya Shankar Dube, Esq., Proposer. Mr. Jai Dev Prasad Gupta, Opposer. Mr. Kashi Ram., D. Pant, Esq., Mr. Balwan Singh, Mr. Bala Prasad.

MAHBUBUR RAHMAN,
B. Com. (Final),
Secretary.

THE LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

The Lucknow University Sociological Association was formed in a meeting representative of all the departments of the University to initiate neighbourhood studies and regional surveys and to discuss questions of general civic and social interest in its periodical meetings. The Association has two-fold activities—one of imparting information to the public by means of lectures, addresses and pamphlets, and the other of social service. Dr. Radhakamal Mukerji, Professor of Economics and Sociology, was elected President, and Mr. Daya Shankar Dube, Lecturer in Economics, and Mr. Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji, Lecturer in Economics and Sociology, were appointed Secretaries. The Vice-Chancellor is the patron. The public of Lucknow, including the Taluqdars of Oudh, Government officials, the elite of the city and the student community are our active supporters. All can be members with a minimum fee of Rs. 3—the students are free Associates. Mr. B. Chatterji, Reader in Commerce, is the Hony. Treasurer.

Dr. Radhakamal Mukerji delivered the inaugural address on Cultural Origins under the presidentship of the Vice-Chancellor, who carefully explained to the big audience the purpose of the Association. The next lecture was delivered by Mr Devi Dutt Pant, Lecturer in Commerce, the subject was the Influence of the City upon Society with special reference to Lucknow. Professor G. S. Mackenzie, LL.D., D.Litt., who was in our midst, was invited to speak. He treated us to an interesting discourse on Co-operative Purpose as the basis of Social Progress. Mr. D. Mukerji read a paper on the Need for a Synthesis in the Social Sciences. Professor Mackenzie presided.

We have already begun neighbourhood studies. Regional surveys, charts and maps are in course of preparation and we

hope to work towards the establishment of a Social Museum. We are grateful to His Excellency, the Chancellor, for the very encouraging reference he made to our Association in his Convocation Address.

Secretaries. { DAYA SHANKAR DUBE.
DHURJATI PRASAD MUKERJI.

BUDDHIST EDUCATION FROM THE JATAKAS.

The subject of this paper has not received the attention * it deserves from the students of Buddhism. Yet the Jatakas throw new light upon certain aspects of early Indian culture —history. Their evidence is generally taken to relate to the period from the time of the Buddha to that of Asoka, *i. e.*, approximately between the seventh and the third century B. C. It is true that this evidence is from stories, but one can hardly miss the local colouring given by the folk in these tales. Indeed, the Jatakas are important as sources of history not for the contents or substance of their stories but rather for the social background or setting of those stories which inevitably reflect the contemporary conditions of life.

The atmosphere of learning and culture which the Jatakas breathe and the educational system and organisation they bring to light are very well indicated in one of those works [*Jat* No. 252]:

"Once on a time Brahmadatta, the King of Benares, had a son named Prince Brahmadatta. Now Kings of former times, though there might be a famous teacher living in their own city, often used to send their sons to foreign countries afar off to complete their education, that by this means they might learn to quell their pride and highmindedness, and endure heat or cold, and be made acquainted with the ways of the world. So did this King. Calling his boy to him—now the lad was sixteen years old—he gave him one-soled sandals, a sunshade of leaves, and a thousand pieces of money, with these words: 'My son, get you to Takkasila, and study there?'

*It has been, so far as I know, only once treated in an article, in the Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society by Mr. J. N. Sikdar, M.A., which I have found to be useful and suggestive. The present paper is part of a comprehensive work on *Ancient Indian Education and Learning* in two volumes, *Brahminical* and *Buddhist*, now ready for the press.

"The boy obeyed. He bade his parents farewell, and in due course arrived at Takkasila. There he enquired for the teacher's dwelling, and reached it at the time when the teacher had finished his lecture and was walking up and down at the door of the house. When the lad set eyes upon the teacher, he loosed his shoes, closed his sunshade, and with a respectful greeting stood still where he was. The teacher saw that he was weary, and welcomed the newcomer. The lad ate, and rested a little. Then he returned to the teacher, and stood respectfully by him.

'Where have you come from?' he asked.

'From Benares'.

'Whose son are you'?

'I am the son of the King of Benares'.

'What brings you here'?

'I come to learn', replied the lad.

'Well, have you brought a teacher's fee? or, do you wish to attend on me in return for teaching you?'

'I have brought a fee with me:' and with this he laid at the teacher's feet his purse of a thousand pieces.'

The resident pupils attend on their teacher by day and at night they learn of him: but they, who bring a fee, are treated like the eldest sons in his house, and thus they learn. And this teacher, like the rest, gave schooling to the prince on every light and lucky day. Thus the young prince was taught."

This passage introduces us practically to all the principal features of the educational system of the times. We shall now explain them and cite the additional or supplementary information which the other Jatakas convey.

Takkasila was the most famous seat of learning. It attracted scholars from different and distant parts of India. Numerous references in the Jatakas show how thither flocked students from far off Benares [I. 272, 285, 409; II. 85, 87; IV. 50, 224; V. 263, 127, etc.], Rajagaha [III. 238, V. 177, 247], Mithila [IV. 316, VI. 347], Ujjeni [IV. 392] and Kosala [III. 115] of the 'Central Region' [*Ib.*] and from the Sivi

[V. 210] and Kuru [V. 457, III. 399] Kingdoms in the 'North country' [I. 356] The fame of Takkasila as a seat of learning was of course due to that of its teachers. They are always spoken of as being 'world-renowned,' being authorities, specialists and experts in the subjects they professed. Of one such teacher we read: 'Youths of the warrior and the Brahman caste came from all India to be taught the arts by him' [III. 158]. It is the presence of scholars of such acknowledged authority and widespread reputation that made Taxila the intellectual capital of the Indian continent from the different and distant parts of which there was a steady movement of qualified students drawn from all classes and ranks of society towards Taxila to complete the education they had in the schools of their native places. Thus the various centres of learning in the different parts of the country became affiliated, as it were, to the educational centre, or the central university, of Taxila which exercised a kind of intellectual suzerainty over the wide world of letters in India.

The students are always spoken of as going to Taxila to 'complete' their education and not to begin it. They are invariably sent at the age of sixteen or when they 'come of age' [*e. g.*, V. 162, 210]. This shows that Taxila was a seat, not of elementary, but higher, education, of colleges or a university as distinguished from schools. Thus the age-limit for admission there was curiously enough the same as is prescribed by modern universities. It was also only the students of a maturer age that could be sent so far away from their homes for the furtherance of their studies.

The students were usually admitted to instruction by their teachers on payment in advance of their entire tuition fees. A fixed sum seems to have been specified for the purpose at Taxila, amounting to 1,000 pieces of money [I. 272, 285; IV. 50, 224, etc]. In lieu of paying the fees in cash, a student was allowed to pay them in the shape of services to his teacher [*cf Mil. Panha* VI. 11]. To this class apparently belonged the majority of the students who

'attended on their teacher by day' and received instruction at night. We read of a school of 500 Brahman pupils whose duties were, among others, to gather firewood from the forests for their master [I. 317—318]. Sometimes a student would prefer to devote his whole time to studies without sparing any time for such services or menial work, while at the same time he was too poor to be able to pay the teacher's fees in cash in advance. In such a case the student was trusted to pay the fees after the completion of his education. We read of one such student, a Brahman boy of Benares, who, after completing his education at Taxila, paid his teacher's fees by begging for them in distant countries beyond the Ganges. The fees are described to be "seven nikkhas" or a few ounces of gold, which may indicate that the teacher's fees were paid in gold in that time [IV. 224]. It may be recalled in this connexion that, under the Brahmanical system, it was the more usual practice for the *brahmacharin* to pay fees to his teacher only when he becomes a Snataka and ends his studentship.

Where students were too poor to be able to pay the teacher's fees in any of the several ways aforesaid, a charitable community often came forward to provide for them a free education. We read of a teacher of 'world-wide fame' at Benares who had in his school 500 young Brahmin pupils to teach. The difficulty of maintaining such a school was removed by the generosity of the 'Benares folk' who 'used to give day by day commons of food to' the poor lads and had them taught free [I. 239].

The cost of education was also to some extent taken over from the teachers and the taught by the occasional invitations to dinner extended to them by philanthropic householders. We read of a school of 500 students being invited to take meals by a 'country family' at Takkasila [I. 317] and of a similar entertainment given by an entire village [III. 171]. These invitations would very often come by turns in such a way that they would work like a permanent provision of meals for the teachers and the taught.

There was again another class of students who paid the teacher's fees from the scholarships awarded to them by the States to which they belonged. Generally such students would be sent as companions of the princes of their respective countries who were deputed to Takkasila for education. We read of the sons of the royal chaplains of the courts of Benares [V. 263] and Rajagaha [III. 238 and V. 247] accompanying their respective princes to Takkasila for their education. Cases, however, are not wanting of students being sent on their own account for higher studies to Takkasila at the State expense. Thus we read of a Brahman boy of Benares being sent by the King at his expense to Takkasila for the purpose of specialising in the Science of Archery [V. 127].

It is to be noted that the fees of tuition as fixed here can hardly be considered adequate to its expenses. The teacher was not like the proprietor of a school conducted as a commercial concern. Probably no part of the fee of 1,000 pieces he could claim as the wages of his own labour. The fees were necessary to cover the cost of the maintenance of those who paid them, of free board, lodging and other necessaries, of the students who went into residence with their teachers under a common roof.

But residence with the teacher was not a compulsory condition of studentship. Day-scholars were also admitted to instruction. We read of Prince Junha of Benares running up an independent house for himself from which he attended the college at Taxila: "One night, after lessons, he left the teacher's house in the dark and set out for home" [IV. 96].

The admission of day-scholars as students implied that of householders or married students. We read of 'a country-Brahman' who, finishing his studies in the three Vedas and the eighteen sciences under a famous teacher in Benares, stopped on there to look after his estate, married and became a regular householder. And yet he was allowed to continue his studies as an external student. He could however come

but "two or three times every day to listen to his master's teachings" owing to the obstructions of his mischievous wife who always feigned sickness whenever he wanted to get away to the school [I. 463]. A similar case is that of 'a young Brahmin from a foreign land' who, while studying as one of 500 pupils of a famous teacher at Benares, "fell in love with a woman and made her his wife. Though he continued to live on in Benares he failed two or three times in his attendance on the master." Sometimes he was so worried and harassed by his unmanageable wife that he absented himself altogether from waiting on the master. "Some seven or eight days later he renewed his attendances", [I. 300] when his master gave him necessary instructions after which he 'paid no heed to his wife's caprices", while his wife also "ceased from that time forward from her naughtiness." There is another instance of a student being handicapped in his studies by the wicked ways of his wife [*Ib.* 301—302]. Lastly, we may also refer to the instance of a teacher of 500 students at Benares who selects by a special test one of them for the hand of his grown-up daughter [III. 18]. With some teachers "there was a custom that if there should be a daughter ripe for marriage she should be given to the eldest pupil" [VI. 347].

The maximum standard number of pupils which an individual teacher admitted was 500 [I. 239, 317, 402; III. 18, 235, 143, 171, etc]. The number gave scope to great variety in the composition of the school. The students were quite a heterogenous lot, drawn from all ranks and classes of society and representing diverse social conditions. Youths of Brahman and Ksatriya castes were of course in large numbers among them [*cf.* III. 458]; there were also princes from distant Kingdoms [I. 272; II. 87; III. 238; V. 162, V. 177, 210, 247, 262, 426, 457; IV. 96, 316; III. 115, 415] and sons of magnates or magnificos, some of whom were Brahmans [II. 99, V. 227, IV. 237, etc.]; there were, again, sons of merchants and tailors [IV. 38], and even fishermen [III. 171], for we read of a teacher who was, on principle, against

all restrictions on admission of students and would 'preach the moral law to anyone he might see though he did not want it, to fishermen and the like' [*Ibid*]. Chandalas were not however admitted as students We read of two Chandala boys from Ujjeni who, considering the misery of their lot due to their birth, thought: "We shall never be able to play the part of Chandalas; let us conceal our birth and go to Takkasila in the disguise of young Brahmans, and study there". Thus introducing themselves they "followed their studies in the law under a far-famed master". One of the students was even successful in his studies. Their disguise was however detected at a dinner offered to the school by a villager by their use of the Chandala dialect in an unguarded moment and they were at once expelled [No. 498].

While all castes except the Chandalas were admitted to instruction, it seems that the castes so admitted did not always confine themselves to their traditional subjects of study. We read of a Brahman boy of Takkasila who learnt Divination under his teacher and later settled down as a hunter in the woods of Benares [II. 200]. Another Brahman boy, son of a magnifico, preferred the study of magic charms to the exclusion of other subjects [II. 99]. Another is spoken of as having gone in for 'the liberal arts' and ultimately specialised in Archery [III. 219]. There is another reference to the same effect [I. 356]. It is again a Brahman boy that studies 'the charm which commands all things of sense" [IV 456]. There is a reference to a Brahman boy choosing "science" for his study [III. 18] and to another mastering 'the three Vedas and the eighteen Accomplishments' [II. 87; III. 115, 122].

We thus see that youths of all sorts and conditions of life, of different classes and castes had all their divisions and distinctions merged in the democracy of learning. Princes and nobles, merchants, tailors, the poor students who were maintained by charity and could not pay their tuition fees—all rubbed shoulders with one another as fellow-disciples of a common school and teacher. The poor students had

to undergo daily a course of exacting and low kind of menial service for the school, but the recognition of the dignity of all honest labour secured to them a status of equality with its aristocratic section. What further levelled all distinctions within the school was the insistence upon certain standards of simplicity and discipline in life to which all its members had to submit. The Prince of Benares is sent on to Takkasila for his studies with the modest equipment given him by his own royal father of "a pair of one-soled sandals, a sunshade of leaves, and a thousand pieces of money" as his teacher's fees, of which not a single piece he could retain for his private use [No. 252 cited above] Thus the Prince enters his school as a poor man, divested of all riches. The same fact is pointed to by the story of Prince Junha of Benares, who accidentally breaking the alms bowl of a Brahman by colliding with him in noctural darkness, was asked to pay him the price of a meal as a compensation. The Prince then said to the Brahman: "I cannot now give you the price of a meal, Brahman; but I am Prince Junha, son of the King of Kasi, and when I come to my Kingdom, you may come to me and ask for the money" [IV. 96]. This shows that there was no money left with a prince which he might spend as he liked. Nor did the offences of princes escape their usual punishment. On the offence of a prince being reported to the teacher (the offence being taking some sweets from a vendor's basket without paying for them), "he caused two lads to take the young fellow by his two hands, and smote him thrice upon the back with a bamboo stick, bidding him take care not to do it again" [No. 252].

The food allowed to the students was of the simplest kind. We have mention of rice-gruel being prepared as breakfast by a maid of the teacher's house [I. 318]. At invitations they were given sugar-cane, molasses, curd and milk [I. 448].

The life of the students was also hard in other ways. Their standing duty was to gather firewood in the forests [*ib*]. Their conduct was so much controlled that they were

not allowed to go to a river for bath except in the company of a teacher [No. 252].

It speaks very well of these ancient Kings that they deliberately, and as a matter of policy, proposed for their sons such a course of discipline and education as their best training in manners and morals, and as a powerful democratising influence, "so that by this means they might learn to quell their pride and highmindedness" [*ib*].

Side by side with these colleges of a heterogenous or cosmopolitan composition, we also find references to colleges of particular communities only. Teachers with 500, and only Brahman, pupils are frequently mentioned. [I. 317, 402, etc]. Sometimes teachers would have only Brahman and Ksatriya pupils [III. 158]. We also read of a teacher at Taxila whose school had on its rolls only princes as pupils—"all princes who were at that time in India to the number of 101," besides two other princes newly admitted from the Kingdoms of Kuru and Benares [V. 457].

To manage a school of 500 pupils and undertake their education were no easy task for an individual teacher. He was however helped by a staff of Assistant Masters (*pitthiachariya*). It was only the most advanced or senior pupils that were appointed as Assistant Masters [II. 100; V. 457]. Assistance in teaching was also rendered by the senior pupils as such. We are told of a teacher appointing his oldest disciple to act as his substitute [I. 141]. Another teacher of Taxila, while going to Benares on some mission, appointed his chief pupil to take charge of his school during his absence, saying: "My son, I am going away from home, while I am away, you are to instruct these my pupils" (numbering 500) [IV. 51]. These senior pupils, by being associated in the work of teaching, soon became fit to be teachers. We read of Prince Sutasoma of the Kuru country who "being the senior pupil soon attained to proficiency in teaching" and, "becoming the private teacher" of his comrade in the school, "soon educated him, while the others only gradually acquired their learning." [V. 457—458].

The college seems to have had a number of sittings every day. Instruction was imparted at times convenient to the students. The poorer scholars who paid for the expenses of educational life by the performance of services or menial work for the school during the day time could find time for study only in the nights when accordingly the teacher imparted instruction to them [II. 278]. It was probably convenient for the day-scholars to attend the night classes: We read of Prince Junha who "one night, after he had been listening carefully to his teacher's instruction, left the house of his teacher in the dark and set out for home" [IV. 96] Another student of Benares who went to Takkasila for a particular instruction implored his teacher thus: "Give me your time for this one night only... I will learn the whole after one lesson." [II. 47]. As regards the students who paid their teacher's fees "they are treated like the eldest sons in his house, and thus they learn." They were given "schooling on every light and lucky day" [II. 278],

Students seem to have commenced their studies very early in the morning, with the crowing of the cock. We read of a school of 500 Brahman students at Benares who "had a cock that crowed betimes and roused them to their studies." Probably a cock was domesticated in every school to serve as a clock! When the trained cock died, a second cock was secured which "had been bred in a cemetery and had thus no knowledge of times and seasons, and used to crow casually,—at midnight as well as at daybreak. Roused by his crowing at midnight, the young Brahmans fell to their studies, by dawn they were tired out and could not for sleepiness keep their attention on the subject [already learnt *(gahitatthanampi)*]; and when he fell a-crowing in broad day they did not get a chance of quiet for repeating their lesson. And as it was the cock's crowing both at midnight and by day which had brought their studies to a standstill, they took the bird and wrung his neck" [I. 436]. It will appear from this passage that there was time for the private study of the students which they spent on repeating *new* lessons and revising *old* ones.

In this passage, again, the reference to drowsiness preventing the students from understanding (*lit.* 'seeing', *passanti*) the subject already learnt may be taken to indicate the use of books for their studies. The Jatakas frequently use the expression *sippam vachesi, i. e.*, 'getting the sciences read. More definite is the following reference to the existence of written books at the time: "The Bodhisatta... caused a book of judgments to be written and said, 'by observing this book you should settle suits'". [III. 292]. We have again references to the various and widespread uses of writing in the Jatakas; to the writing of Epistles [I. 377 (mentioning a correspondent), II. 95, 174 (sealing a letter), IV. 145 (contents of a message given), VI. 370, 385, 403], to the forging of letters [I. 451, IV. 124], to inscription on gold plate [II. 36, 372, 376; IV. 7, 257, 335, 488; V. 59, 67, 125; VI. 29], to inscription over a hermitage [VI. 520; IV. 489 (inscription in letters of vermillion upon a wall)], to letters of the alphabet engraved on gold necklets, [VI. 390], to inscriptions upon garments, and accoutrements [VI. 408], to the scratching of a message on an arrow [II. 90], to writing on a leaf [II. 174; IV. 55; VI. 369; 400 (writing on a leaf fastened on an arrow)]. Lastly, there is another passage [I. 451] which indicates how the art of writing was being regularly taught to the young in the elementary or primary schools. It tells how when a rich man's son "was being taught to write," his "young slave used to go with his young master's tablets and so learned at the same time to write himself." The three R's were evidently taught in these schools. We may recall in this connection the passage in the *Kautiliya* [I. 5], showing how after the ceremony of *chudakarana* a boy was to be taught *lipi* or writing and *sankhyanam* or counting and arithmetic.

We shall now consider the courses of study that were offered by the colleges of Takkasila. The Jatakas constantly refer to students coming to Takkasila to complete their education in the three Vedas and the eighteen Sippas or arts [I. 259, 356, 402, 464; II. 87; III. 115, 122, etc]. Some-

times the students are referred to as selecting the study of the Vedas alone [I. 402, III. 235, IV. 293, etc.] or the Arts alone [III. 18, 238; V. 127, 162, 177, 247, 426; IV. 456; III. 143; 219, etc]. We may conveniently distinguish education in the Vedas as Literary Education from Education in the Arts as Scientific and Technical Education.

The invariable mention of the three Vedas shows that the study of the Atharva Veda was not included in the curriculum for general education at the time of the Jatakas. The Vedas were of course to be learnt by heart. We are told of a teacher at Takkasila from whose lips 500 Brahman pupils learnt the Vedas [I. 402]. The Bodhisatta is frequently referred to as having learned the three Vedas by heart [*cf.* I. 259]. Instead of the three Vedas, we sometimes find mention of "sacred texts" [III. 235], "holy books" [IV. 293], or "the law" [IV. 392]. Some of these terms may indicate the sacred literature of the Buddhists. We find even the direct mention of a Vinaya scholar and a Sutra scholar [III. 486].

The subjects under the Sciences and Arts are not individually mentioned. Their number alone is frequently mentioned. We may refer in this connection to the passage already cited from the *Milinda Panha* which gives the individual names of the nineteen Sippas then current. Some passages in the Jatakas however make individual mention of some subjects under scientific and technical education, but it is not certain whether they would come under the eighteen Sippas. We have mention of the following arts being taught in some of the colleges of Takkasila, *viz.*, (1), Elephant Lore (*Hatthisutta*) [II. 47] (2) Magic charms [II. 100], (3) Spell for bringing back the dead to life, [I. 510], (4) Hunting, [II. 200], (5) Spell for understanding all animals' cries, [III. 415], (6) Archery (*Issapasippa*), [III. 219, I. 356, V. 127, II. 87], (7) The Art of Prognostication [III. 122], (8) Charm for commanding all things of sense, [IV. 456], (9) Divining from the signs of the body [II. 200], and (10) Medicine [IV. 171].

It is to be noted that students are mentioned as taking up for their study only one of these subjects in which they wanted to specialise and make themselves experts.

The study of these sciences and arts seems to have a theoretical and a practical course. Knowledge of the literature of a subject had to be followed by its practical applications. In regard to some subjects like Medicine, for instance, the practical course had to be gone through under the direction of the teacher. The practical course in Medicine at Takkasila included a first hand study of the plants to find out the medicinal ones, as shown in the account of Jivaka's education. In other subjects, the practical course was left to be completed by the students themselves when they left their colleges after finishing their instruction. Thus we read of a Brahman student 'of a market town in the North country' who specialised in the Science of Archery at Takkasila and, after finishing his studies, went as far as the Andhra country in prosecution of the practical application of his art. [I. 356]. There is mention of the Prince of Magadha who, having mastered all the arts at Takkasila, "wandered through towns, villages, and all the land to acquire all practical usages and understand country observances" [II. 238]. We have mention of another student, Setaketu, of Takkasila who similarly "wandered, learning all practical arts" [III. 235]. There is mentioned another Prince of Magadha who, being trained in all Sciences at Takkasila, "left that place with the intention of learning the practical uses of arts and local observances" [V. 247]. We have an interesting reference to the Pandu brothers who, after receiving instruction in arts at Takkasila, 'travelled about with the idea of mastering local customs' [V. 426]. We read again of two sons of merchants and a tailor's son travelling together to learn the custom of the country folk after finishing their education in Takkasila [IV. 38]. There is a similar reference to a student from Benares undertaking a travel after his education at Takkasila [IV. 200]. A Prince of Kosala is mentioned who after studying the three

Vedas and eighteen liberal arts at Takkasila left the place to study the practical uses of the sciences learned [III. 115]. Lastly, there is an instance in which a student, on completion of his education in the Arts at Takkasila and returning home to Benares, had to exhibit before his parents a practical demonstration of the technical knowledge he had acquired. In this connection we may also recall the successful surgical operations executed by Jivaka as soon as he had left Takkasila on finishing his education, for they show that he must have had a previous practical training and experimentation in such difficult operations.

A practical turn was indeed given to all instruction as a pedagogic principle. We have already referred to the first-hand observation of plant life as a compulsory part of medical education. We have again one Jataka [No. 123] which shows how nature-study was always insisted upon as the best means of awakening a healthy curiosity, a spirit of observation and enquiry which are indispensable aids to intellectual culture. In the story, 'a world-renowned' professor of Benares "had five hundred young Brahmans to instruct," one of whom "had always foolish notions in his head and always said the wrong thing; he was engaged with the rest in learning the scriptures as a pupil, but because of his folly could not master them. The teacher was at pains to consider what method of instruction would be suitable for that 'veriest dullard' of all his pupils. And the thought came to him that the best way was to question him on his return from gathering firewood and leaves, as to something he had seen or done that day, and then to ask what it was like. 'For', thought the master, 'this will lead him on to making comparisons and giving reasons, and the continuous practice of comparing and reasoning on his part will enable me to impart learning to him' ".

The point of some of the examples cited above which should not be missed in this connexion is that they demonstrate how the students of those days after their graduation undertook an expensive foreign travel to give a practical turn

to their theoretical studies at the colleges, and qualify themselves for the life in the world by broadening the range of their experience and deepening their insight into human affairs by a first-hand study of the diverse manners and customs prevailing in the different parts of the country. Besides its direct educational value, this post-graduate travelling as giving a finishing touch to a student's training was encouraged and even insisted upon for another substantial reason especially in the cases of the students of the well-to-do classes, who were brought up in luxury. This was to build up the physique or the physical constitution of the student by inuring him to the hardships of travelling, to make him 'endure heat or cold' and stand all weathers and climates. And we have already referred to the recognition of the utility of the institution as a means of moral education of the students of the royal and aristocratic houses especially, who were sent to distant centres for their education, so that by their necessary travelling and living under strange conditions in foreign parts, they might be more humanised, with their native pride of position and spirit of exclusiveness crushed out of them under the spirit a thoroughgoing democracy and fraternity which a seat of learning would always breathe [No. 252].

Takkasila was also famous for some of its special schools. One of such schools was the medical school which must have been the best of its kind in India, if we may believe in the story of Jivaka. It was also noted for its school of Law which attracted students from distant Ujjeni [IV. 392, also III. 171]. Its Military schools were not less famous. One such school could boast of counting all the then Princes throughout India numbering 103 as its students [V. 457]. We have already seen how keen and widespread was the demand in the country for the courses and training offered by its Schools of Archery.

Thus the teachers of Takkasila were as famous for their knowledge of the arts of peace as for that of war. In this connection we may refer to the story of the Brahman boy of

Benares of the name of Jotipala who was sent at the King's expense for education in Archery at Takkasila. When he had finished his training and was returning home, the teacher presented him with his own sword, a bow and arrow, a coat of mail and a diamond and asked him to take his place as the head of 500 pupils to be trained up by him in the military arts, as he was himself old and wanted to retire [V. 127]. The Veda-of-the-bow claimed almost as many students as the sacred triple-Veda in those days.

It is also evident that the demand for the knowledge of the Sippas or for technical and scientific education was not less keen than that for general education or religious studies.

Next to Takkasila ranks Benares as a seat of learning. It was, however, largely the creation of the ex-students of Takkasila who set up as teachers at Benares [Nos. 130, 185, etc.] and carried thither the culture of that cosmopolitan educational centre which was moulding the intellectual life of the whole of India Subjects in the instruction of which Takkasila held the monopoly were being gradually introduced into Benares. We find established there Schools for the teaching of spells and magic charms by students trained from Takkasila [II. 99]. For the study of the ordinary subjects there were of course established many schools [I, 464]. Benares, however, was not without its own alumni as educationists. There are several references to teachers of world-wide fame with the usual number of 500 pupils to teach [I. 239, III. 18 and 233]. The son of a Brahman magnate with eighty crores is educated in Benares [IV. 237]. There were again certain subjects in the teaching of which Benares seems to have specialised. There is a reference, for instance, to a school of music presided over by an expert who was the chief of his kind in all India [No.243]. With all this, the inferiority of Benares to Takkasila as a seat of learning is apparent from the fact that there are hardly to be found many references in the Jatakas to the movement of foreign scholars towards that city for education in

different subjects as we find in such abundance in respect of the other city.

Lastly, it is to be noted that the educational system of the times produced men of affairs as well as men who renounced the world in the pursuit of Truth. The life of renunciation indeed claimed many ex-students of both Takkasila and Benares. In the sylvan and solitary retreats away from the haunts of men, the hermitages served as schools of higher philosophical speculation and religious training where the culture previously acquired would attain its fruitage or a further development in a particular direction. These special schools of spiritual culture are also referred to as being composed of the standard number of 500 ascetics gathering round the personality of an individual hermit of established reputation to seek instruction as his disciples [I. 141, etc]. We have however references to schools of larger sizes. We read of one which was so overcrowded with zealous pupils that the chief had to get other hermitages established by his seven senior pupils to relieve the congestion but to no purpose, for the original or parent hermitage continued to be crowded as before with aspirants after the religious life [V. 128].

The hermitages were generally established in the Himalayas [I. 406, 431 ; III. 143 ; IV. 74] Sometimes, however, the bands of ascetics would establish themselves near the centres of population and would have facilities for attracting recruits [III. 115 ; IV. 193]. These imparted to their disciples a knowledge of their 'arts, texts and practices.' We read of Setaketu, originally the senior pupil of a school of 500 pupils at Benares, going to Takkasila for education in the 'arts' on completion of which he wandered through the country learning all practical arts, when in a village he comes across a group of 500 ascetics who, after ordaining him, taught him all their "arts, texts and practices" [III. 235].

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI.

THE LAST EXILE OF SITA.

AN EPIC DRAMA.

In Two Parts.

This little play, the first half of which is printed below, has been written by the members of the Second Year Honours B. A. English Class in collaboration with Mrs. Walker. In the course of our class work on Elizabethan Drama, we learned how prominent was the place of drama in the Renaissance Schools and Universities of England, during the reigns of the Tudors and the early Stuarts. We also gathered from the lectures recently delivered by Mrs. Mackenzie of Cardiff University some hint of the part drama is playing in the widespread movement towards "self-expression" in education, and Mr. H. Caldwell Cook's illuminating book "The Play Way" showed us what boys between the ages of 10 and 13 have been able to accomplish. Lastly, we found the admirable report "On the Teaching of English in England" published in 1921, giving its unqualified blessing to dramatic activities brought "into the recognised educational curriculum." That report notes with satisfaction the recent "movement to bring dramatic training into the recognised educational curriculum of Oxford and Cambridge," the appointment of Mr. Granville Barker, the famous play writer and actor, to a lectureship in the University of Liverpool on the Art of the Theatre, the establishment of University chairs of dramatic literature and the instruction in play writing and in theatrical production recognised as a part of the English course in "some of the American Universities, notably Harvard."

We present our play here in print and, on the 25th and 26th January, on the College stage not for any intrinsic

merit, but for its interest as the first fruits of an experiment that has been of value to ourselves as students of literature. We know that we are neither poets nor dramatists, nor are we masters of the English language, but we do claim that we have "learned by doing," that in the effort to write dramatic prose and blank verse we have been led to read Shakespeare and Marlowe, Tagore and Shaw with quickened ear and mind, and that in the effort to construct our play and present our characters we have gained an insight into dramatic construction and characterization that years of mere reading and the study of text books could not have given us.

H. S. W.

for *Second Year Honours B. A. English Class.*

DRAMATIS PERSONAE.

1.	Rama ...	...	The King of Ajodhya.
2.	Lakshman ...	...	His brother.
3.	Lava ...	...	His twin sons.
4.	Kusha ...		
5.	Valmiki ...	...	A hermit.
6.	Baljit ...	...	Courtiers.
7.	Ranjit ...		
8.	Durmukha ...	...	Spy to Rama.
9.	Farmer. ...	...	People of Ajodhya.
10.	Ferryman ...		
11.	Cooli ...		
12.	Dhobi ...		
13.	Leader ...		
14.	Father-in-law.		
15.	Sweetwala ...		
16.	Messenger ...		
17.	Maharajas, Rajas, Nobles and Princes.		

1.	Sita ...	...	Wife to Rama.
2.	Kaushalya ...	...	Mother to Rama.
3.	Dasi ...	...	Servant to Sita.
4.	Milkmaid.		

Citizens, a Warder, etc., etc.

Scene—Partly in Ajodhya and partly in a wood near Bithur.

PART 1.

SCENE 1.

The Outskirts of Ajodhya.

FARMER, MILKMAID, FERRYMAN, AND DURMUKHA.

Farmer.—(*Shaking his fist at the sky*). Not a wrinkle of cloud on the pitiless blue face of it; nothing can save us.

Milkmaid.—Was ever such a time? July without a drop of rain, August as dry as May, September still scorching. The world has grown too saucy and the Gods are incensed. Heavens; have mercy upon us.

Farmer.—The ground has hardened into stone and the plough cuts no furrow. My bullocks are withered to skeletons for lack of fodder.

Milkmaid.—And the black cow that my husband bought with last year's savings died in the night.

Oh! my poor little cow. (*Weeps*).

Ferryman.—Waste not your tears, woman, water is scarce enough these days. My lot is harder than yours. Your thirsty earth has swallowed up my Saryu and my boat lies idle mocking me on the bank. The sandy river-bed shines like silver in the sun, but that doesn't feed my little ones.

Durmukha—Are things really so bad as that in the country? Don't you exaggerate?

Farmer.—Neither our fathers nor our grandfathers ever saw or heard of such a bad season. The trees are bare of leaves, the oxen eat the hard dry bark, and the deer runs from East to West in search of water. Nature was ever a spiteful jade.

Milkmaid.—Nay! blame not nature, good farmer; she is still the kindly friend of man. This evil that has come upon us is a warning from the Gods that the people cannot stray from the old ways and live, but let us pray yet once again.

Ferryman.—Oh Heaven; cover thy face with deep clouds.

Farmer.—And great Indra pierce them with thy mighty arrow.

Milkmaid.—Give life to the grass and to the crops again.

All.—Rain; Rain; Great Indra give us rain.

(All look up praying. Sounds of quarrelling).

Enter Dhobi and his father-in-law quarrelling.

Dhobi.—I say, I will not have her back.

Father-in-law.—I swear she is innocent.

Dhobi.—Swear away; innocent or not innocent, I am not the man to take back a wife that spends a whole night away from her husband's house.

Father-in-law.—But, my good fellow, I tell you that she was under my roof; her mother was taken ill and would have none but her to tend her. By the Holy Ganga I give my oath that she sat hour after hour by her mother's bed side.

Dhobi.—How am I to believe that? Am I to take your words you rascally old villain that you are? No, no; I will not have it said that Chedda took back a wife that went her own way like that.

Father-in-law.—Why shouldn't you, a Dhobi, take back a woman who has spent only one night away and that under her father's roof; when the King's wife Sita lived for ten months in another man's house?

Durmukha.—You people don't seem to understand that she was captured from Rama. It was no fault of hers but her misfortune.

Dhobi.—If we are all to let our wives play truant like that it will come to this that no man will have any hold over his wife at all. They will all say, if the king's wife can go and live in another man's house and be taken back again, who are you to make a noise when we do as we please, too. It will be Queen Sita does this, Queen Sita does that. I tell you man, life won't be worth living.

Farmer.—You speak truly, friend.

Dasi.—(*Rushing in*)—Who's that bandying the royal name of Sita on his common Dhobi's tongue ? I will teach you, my man, to mind your own business. (*Boxes his ears*)

Dhobi.—Oh! Oh! Oh!

Dasi.—That will teach you not to speak slander of the most fair, chaste and innocent lady that ever walked the earth.

Farmer.—How bold these ants of women have become ! So she has the cheek to strike a man, has she?

Dhobi.—Sita may be good enough, but the King has no right to take her back all the same.

Dasi.—The King can do as he likes, blockhead! but it is not the place of a vulgar fellow like you to poke your nose into royal affairs.

Milkmaid.—Ay! she calls us vulgar, she looks down upon us.

Dhobi.—How does the King know for certain that she's innocent?

Dasi.—Of course he knows it and so does every one who isn't the lying son of a dog; besides she went through the trial by fire at the battlefield. I ever served her since the day she was found in the Silver urn and I know there's never been an hour but that she stood before God with a pure soul.

Durmukha.—Yes; indeed. Everyone who has served her knows that.

Dasi.—I know how wonderful is their love; how faithful the Great King Rama is and how tender, loving and pure is Sita. It is more than you sunburnt faced folk can understand. So don't you go befouling fair names on your carping evil tongue, my man; or you will get more than me boxing your long donkey's ears.

Dhobi.—Eh, my good woman, that's all very well, but what kind of example is this that Sita is setting to the common folk. Here is my wife already spent a night out of my house.

Father-in-law.—She was with her mother I tell you.....

Dhobi.—Hold your lying old tongue (*to Dasi*). What sort of example is this I ask you to our women?

Ferryman.—Yes—indeed if the King is not going to keep the tradition of our fathers and put away his wife, who is?

Dasi.—Tradition has nothing to do with it. Because she had the misfortune to be captured by that Rakshash and kept for a month or two, is Ram going to put her away? And now that he has rescued her in a terrible fight, got her out of the clutches of the monster Ravan—to send her away? I tell you not likely.

Dhobi.—Well, I tell you there will be trouble unless he does.

Ferryman.—Hear! Hear! (*to Dasi*) and what are you giving yourself airs for? Out with the old wife.

All. —Out with her, out with her.

(*Exit all except Farmer and Spy*).

Durmukha.—This famine business seems to have turned the Dhobi's head.

Farmer.—Not only the Dhobi's, Sir, but the whole town's.

Durmukha. (*Walking off*) So that way lies the land! I fear some trouble will result from this.

Exit.

SCENE 11. The Court.

RAM, LAKSHMAN AND COURTIERS.

Baljit.—(*Entering and bowing*). Your Majesty, many petitioners.
Wait at the Palace-gate to speak with thee.

Rama.—Anon, Baljit—Say I shall come anon—
Where shall a King find rest? Since coming back
Here to Ajodhia as its rightful King,
My days have been so full of cares of state,
That I have scarce had time to eat or sleep.
The poorest slave can call his life his own
More than a monarch who would rule and guide
His people for their welfare. Like a slave

A most devoted slave, himself he works
And like a master's voice, ever obeys
His loyal people's great or small demands.

Baljit.—None of thy subjects, Sire, to-day are sad;
All are content, and peace reigns everywhere;
The robber settles down to honest work,
The cut-throat's dagger rusts upon the shelf;
At night the people's doors are left unlocked,
Such is the sense of safety in the land.

Rama.—It is great comfort unto me to know
That they are happy. Like so many children
Have they been by God entrusted to me;
False to them I would be false to God.
But, as it is, their happiness to me
Brings joy, and their distresses sorrow.

Ranjit.—True it is, my lord, thou hast thy duty
To these commoners, but to thyself
Thou hast some duty too. I never heard
Of any yet who did so love the people
As to neglect himself. I pray thee Sire,
For thy royal person take more rest, more care.

Lakshman.—Ram is no common King, draining the nation's
Wealth for his own comfort. Long shall his reign
Of healthful governance, peace, and prosperity
Serve for a model, for a high ideal
To future generations.

Rama.— I am descended
From the ancient line, the famous house
Of Raghu's mighty Kings, therefore to prove
Myself a worthy son, 'tis meet I rule
With mercy, love, and truth. Were there a beggar
In my Kingdom's bounds, creeping to bed
At night hungry and cold, how could I dine
In comfort plentiously? Were there a poor man
Crying out for bread, the royal treasure
Should be opened for him; pearls would I give
And jewels to the needy; all my wealth

I would distribute to them, sacrifice all
For welfare of my people. What they do ask
That will I give to them, dearest possessions
Even my dearest Sita, would I relinquish.

Ranjit.—Rama, my lord, speak not such cruel things
Of thy Sita. Grieved would she be
To hear how easily thou wouldst renounce her.

Lakshman.—Ranjit, it is not so; as Sita's form
Is fair, so is her mind. She would delight
To hear of Ram's devotion to his duty,
And, if need were, give up her life for him.
But here she comes. In her most innocent face
The freshness of the morning, and her eyes
Starred like the Nargis opening to the spring.

Enter Sita.

Sita.—
Is it my lord's good pleasure I should come
And talk with him at ease a little while?

Rama.—It is my queen; come, sit and share my throne,
And it will shine more bright for thy dear presence,
Then also shall all hearts that do behold thee
Be full of joy that there can be on earth
A queen so fair and gracious as thou art.

Sita.—My lord, did'st thou go out as is thy wont
Last night to see the people in the streets?

Rama.—My queen, I did not. Often cares of state
Demand the pleasanter duties left undone.
But here comes one with something for my love,
A present I have ordered to be made
Bring in the pictures, Dasi.

Sita.— O, my lord
How wonderful they are! Here are the scenes
Of all our wanderings made as clear as life!
How marvellous a thing the painter's art
That can so stir our memories, till we seem
To live again the days of our misfortune.

Rama.—Here is the picture, Sita, of Maricha

Transformed into a deer. O, wily thing!
O, beautiful exterior with foul heart!
I well remember how thou did'st deceive me,
Led me through bush and bog in frantic chase,
This way and that, flitting and vanishing,
Luring me by thy guile from Sita's side.....
How life-like does he look there on the canvas!
Look how his horns are glitt'ring, sapphire tipped,
How brighter than the sun his golden tint,
And black as ebony his powerful hoofs.

Sita.—And who is this in mendicant's disguise
With tufted, matted, hair, and garb of red,
Surely it is not meant to be Valmiki,
Wise and good?

Rama.— Sita, it is the Fiend
Who stole thee from me; under his saintly seeming
Look how the evil soul lurks in his eyes.
Ravan thou serpent, deadliest enemy,
How can I e'er forgive thee for that deed?

Sita.—Dwell not on that, my lord, for he is dead,
Slain by the righteous might of thine own hand.
Nay ! speak no more of it, for even now
My heart beats wildly when I think of him.....

Rama.—My dearest, thou art safe and happy now,
And never for a moment need'st thou fear,
Or tremble more. I will protect thee ever.
Here is a picture of the hermitage
The kindly saint Valmiki's dwelling place.

Sita.—Well I remember it, the loveliest spot
I ever saw: it was a haven indeed
In all our troubles. There in Dandak wood
Did all find refuge; countless beasts and birds,
And heavenly nymphs, Yogis and holy men,
Lived there in peace; nor breath of evil,
From the outside world did enter in.
Cool was the shade, and cool the deep green grass
Wherein we rested in the glare of noon,

While from the brimming fountains ever rose
Sweet murmuring music lulling us asleep.

Lakshman.—And, as the place itself, the picture is
No whit less beautiful. Just as it looked
At dawn, the rising sun striking in rosy
Shafts among the trees. The Saint Valmiki
Saying his morning prayers, and all around,
Sitting in wrapt devotion, holy men.

Sita.—Yes, there was peace and holiness indeed:
How wise and sweet Valmiki's counsel was,
And how our troubled hearts were strangely calm'd
As we sat listening to his sacred words.
My lord, I have a great desire to go
And visit once again the hermitage;
Leave for a while the pomp and show of Courts
And in the simple manner of the Saints,
Live quiet days. O, give me leave to go!

Rama.—I would do anything to please thee Sita;
But, surely, this is such a sudden wish,
Thou shalt have changed thy mind before the morn.

Sita.—No, no, my lord, it is no idle whim;
This wish a long time in my heart has been,
And now the picture of the hermitage
Has put it into words. My lord, do not
Deny thy dearest wife her dear desire.

Rama.—But, Sita, is it wise of thee to go,
Being as thou art in delicate condition?
I am afraid some illness may befall.
But there, my dear, I have not the hard heart
To say thee nay. Go, but let thy stay
Be brief, for weary shall I be till thy return.

Sita.—O, but, my lord, I had it in my mind
That thou wouldst come with me, and Lakshman too;
The loveliest place will hold but little joy
For me apart from thee.

Rama.— Sita, my love,
To give thee pleasure, what would I not do?

But things of state so crowd upon a King,
That if he'd do his duty by his folk,
His private wishes, ev'n his queen's behests
Must stand aside. But faithful Lakshman,
He will go with thee, and, as he proved
On all our wanderings a loving brother,
So he will prove again.

Sita.— Sita is sad
Her Rama cannot come; but if she'd be
The helpmate of his heart, she must at once
Give in, and never for an instant stand
Between the great King Rama and his kingly duties.
But dearest Lakshman, thou wilt go with me
And on the journey to the hermitage
Beguile the time with story and sweet song.

Lakshman.—To do for thee what is most pleasing to thee
Is always my endeavour, sister Sita:
And, for my own part, I have always wished
To hear again the wise words of the sage.

Rama.—Brother, do you remember we had news
That Valmiki had changed his hermitage?
No longer by the green Chitrakut hill
Stands his retreat, but near Bithur, they say,
In a great wood, a little distance south
Of holy Ganges, therefore thy journey now
Should not be overlong nor tire thee much.

Lakshman.—My utmost shall I do to make it easy
By singing songs and talking by the way;
And for dear Sita's comfort I shall make
The best arrangements, so she shall not lack
A single needful and delightful thing
That she would have at home.

Sita.—Dear Lakshman you are thoughtful and most kind
To think of comforts for me, but I would
Go on this pilgrimage in simple guise.
I'll have no servants with me; thou and I
Will go as Yogis do, possessing nothing.

Dasi, seek out my oldest, simplest dress,
A pair of roughest sandals; quick, make haste,
For now I am impatient to be gone!

Dasi.—Mistress, what is the reason for this haste?
Better delay awhile.....or if you'd listen
To an old dame's word, better not go at all.

Sita.—Not go at all? Dasi, why should I not?

Dasi.—I do not know my child, but my old heart
Never belied me yet. Though all seems well,
Outwardly running smooth, happy and quiet,
I cannot rid me of a strange foreboding.

Sita.—Nonsense, old dame! What is it can be wrong?
Is not my Rama kind, my Lakshman good,
And Sita herself the happiest in the world?
Come, strip these jewels and dress us for the drive,
Is it not good now only to be alive!

(*Exit Dasi and Sita*).

Rama.—(*Following her with his eyes*)
How like a dear impulsive child she goes
With heart so full of innocent sweet joy,
Of evil, pain, and sorrow all forgetting.
Bless her ye gods who love all beauteous things
And keep her from the cruel world's buffettings.
But now to business. There is some one waiting to see me, is there not? Let him come in—

(*Enter Durmukha, the Spy*).

What news my faithful Durmukha?

Durmukha.—(*After making obeisance*). Nothing fresh my Lord. Everything goes on well as usual. Rich and poor alike sing your victory.

Rama.—There was never a day but you brought me good news, Durmukha, but even the gods have their proper sorrows and am I to believe that none among my subjects is needy or miserable?

Durmukha.—There is no murmuring against your Majesty .....(*faltering*).

Rama.—Don't be afraid, good Durmukha, I don't hold you responsible for what happens. Besides remember you are my paid spy on whom I rely for my information. I depend on you and you must do your duty.

Durmukha.—What shall I say? My tongue is frozen hard as Kailas' snow.

Rama.—Ah! I see there is something serious on your mind. Courage, take courage, why do you tremble? I see the gloom of guilt on your face. Tell me what you are hiding from me.

(*Durmukha tries to speak but only mutters unintelligibly*).

Quick, quick, anger me no further, or your fate is sealed.

Durmukha.—Sire.....forgive me.....your subjects are dying of (*trembling*) famine.....there is great discontent..... .....

Rama.—Famine! what, have I done that you are afraid to tell me of it? What is the cause of it?

Durmukha.—Sire, they blame not your Majesty for it, but they say that the incensed gods have sent this famine to chastise your kingdom, because you have taken Sita back.

(*Speaks still in quivering voice*).

Rama.—What then do they wish me to do ?

Dur.—Great King, they say, that it will not cease until you put Sita away.

Rama.—Sita . . . . Put her away . . . . . Tell me Durmukha, is that the only remedy left ?

Dur.—The only one, my Lord, they won't listen to anyone.

Rama.—Will they not listen to the entreaties of their dear King ? Is all that I have done for them of no avail ? No, they can't be so ungrateful.

Dur.—Want of food, Sire, has turned their brains. I and Dasi pleaded the Queen's innocence day after day, but they wouldn't hear us.

Rama.—I will speak to the people, surely they will hear me.

Baljit.—I am afraid, Sire, it would madden the people even more, if you plead for Sita.

Dur.—They say that the King will forego his pleasure to save millions of his subjects from horrible death.

(*Enter Warder.*)

Warder.—Your Majesty, the crowds have forced their way into the Palace ! It's impossible to stop them !

Rama.—(*Very calm outwardly.*) Let them come in—I am not afraid of my own people.

(*People come in looking a little cowed now they are unhindered*)

What do you want of your King, my children ?

Farmer.—Do our faces not speak for themselves, Sire ?

Milkmaid.—Are our hungry looks not enough to tell thee, my Lord ?

Rama.—You are right, my people, your misery needs no words. My heart is already moved to see your withered cheeks and limbs of skin and bone; but fear not, I will feed you all, out of the Royal store-houses.

Farmer.—Your Majesty, that does not remove the God's curse from us.

Ferryman.—Rivers will never flow until Sita is banished .

. . . .

Rama.—Alas ! Both gods and men conspire against me and my queen. After our years of wandering, it's but a little while that she has enjoyed the comforts of the court or known what it is to be happy; and now, must she be exiled once again!

Ferryman.—Our trade is ruined !

Farmer.—What is that compared with the misery of millions ?

Milkmaid.—And our little ones crying for bread ?

(*Rama is silent, perplexed and brooding—People thinking he's relenting.*)

Farmer.—Sire, Sire, you can save us !

Milk. & Ferry.—Save us, Your Majesty, save us !

Rama.—My people's call ! What duty is more sacred than a King's ! ? People I hear (*deliberately with determination*), and grant your request. The gods shall be appeased by Sita's banishment. You may go. (*People go out.*)

(*Aside*).—O God, may I have judged aright !

Now my fine courtiers, the serpents of my confidence. Why did I suckle you to bite me ? You flatterers, you curs, you have bitterly deceived me. You filled my ears with the false information that my subjects were happy. I trusted you and went with you to see the people, but, you took me to the granaries of the rich. For Shame ! Was such trust ever so betrayed !

Courtiers.—(*Falling on their knees.*)

Mercy, Great King, we crave mercy.

Rama.—Go, go, I say. I'll have no more to do with such as you. Depart this instant for my blood is up, and hasten you from the gates as long as you have heads upon your cringing bodies. Away. Away.

Exit Courtiers.

Rama.—O, what a thing is this, suddenly shot,
As't were from out the sky.
The people dying of hunger, famine rife,
And all for this they count to me a sin,
This living with my dearest, purest wife.

(*Draws curtain of inner stage aside and sees Sita sleeping*).

How calmly she lies sleeping on her bed.
No spirit haunts her and no hideous dream
Her honeyed slumber breaks. The unchaste soul
Knows not such ease of mind. But she is innocent,

She is divine. How can I then exile her?
How can I now reward her selflessness,
Her constancy and Love with such a deed?
O Sita! I do love thee as my life,
But as my life I love my subjects too.
They do demand thy utter banishment
And I am pledged to do whatever they ask.
The Ganga may go backward in her course,
But never Rama on his given word.
Was ever such a case where Mighty Love
Did so conflict with mighty Love and Duty?
What are the gods that they have brought this on me?
Cruel, they are and passing pitiless.
Sita, my Love, how great my grief for thee
And for thy unborn babe; it almost bursts
My heart to think of thee bearing the child
Alone and far away; no one to comfort thee
Or tend the little one in exile. Exile!
Ah, has it come do this? Can I endure to live
When thou art gone? Endure I must
Though lifeless shall I be without thee, Love,
When thou the source of all delight and joy
Alas, art gone, for ever gone, while I remain
To wear my cursed crown, whose cruel bitter price
Is Sita's banishment. Relinquish thee
I dare not, nor refuse to rule the land
Bequeathed unto me in sacred trust
In lineal descent from Raghu's kings.
O, mother Earth from whom I did receive
My precious Love, unto thy gracious care
I now commend her—O thou her nurse, her mother
And her Friend.

Curtain.

Scene III.

Three miles from Valmiki's hermitage.

Enter Sita and Lakshman walking wearily,

Sita.—How lovely is the forest in this place.
Here let us rest a while and let our ears
Drink in the heavenly music that the birds
And the sighing wind, make among the trees.
Lakshman.—Yes, it is restful here and should give peace
To one like me with mind distraught and sad.
Sita.—What ails thee, Lakshman, are you ill ?
Lakshman.—Not ill in body, Sita, ill in mind.
Sita.—What is the matter brother? Look not so;
We have but three miles to the hermitage
And surely you need fear no dangers now.
Lakshman.—O my sweet sister, how can I tell thee
How plunge thy happy heart in such distress?
(*Aside*).—Speak coward tongue. Reveal thy cruel purpose.
Sita, I now must leave thee and return
Alone unto the Palace.
Sita.— Lakshman why ?
Will you not wait a little with me here,
Visit the sage and home accompany me?
Lakshman.—O Sita, I return unto the court,
But thou · · · O Sister · · thou will not return,
For know, how shall I tell thee, thou art banished.
Sita.—Banished ! Never return ! Can this be true?
Lakshman —Sita, it is too true.
Sita.— O Brother Lakshman
What is it I have done to be so used ?
Lakshman.—Thou hast done nothing sister, innocent
Of any deed of blame, yet thou art offered
Up a sacrifice. The people say
The Famine has been sent because thy Ram
Has ta'en thee back again ; they did demand
Thou should'st be sent away, and Ram has heard
Their plaint, and torn in heart, given consent.

Sita.—Given consent !. How could he do it, brother ?
Would I for anything in Heaven or Earth
Have given him up ? · · · But this fond woman's heart
Must prove its truer metal. I must be brave
And look to others' welfare not my own.

Lakshman.—How did I ever come to acquiesce
In this most heartless thing ? Would I had died
Ere I had seen this day. My brother Ram
Being my King has thus a double power
My actions to command : but have I not
As well my own mind, judgment to obey
In this momentous deed ? If Ram himself
Could see this dangerous beast-haunted place
And the sweet, trembling, broken hearted girl
Deserted here, it could not seem to him
Aught but a cruel offence.

Sita.— Speak not so,
For Ram was ever just and kind and good,
As I his much loved wife, should surely know.
Say not that he is cruel to banish me.
I know his noble mind, I know he acts
As his unfaltering wisdom bids him do :
Never can word of his be called in question.

Lakshman.—Sita, I can not look upon thee more,
Else will my heart burst—I must now fulfil
My duty hastily ; my punishment
To be forever more a self-cursed wretch
Eating my heart out for that blindest sin
That makes me leave thee here . . . Sita, farewell.

Sita.—Yes, Lakshman. quickly go while yet mine eyes
Betray not my weak heart, or grief and woe
Ungovernable and wild possess me utterly.
To Ram take all my heart ; say Sita's mind
Not for a moment doubts his faithful love :—
Say she is glad to prove herself for him
Though in so hard a manner . . . tell him not

To grieve for her, but say . . . she will be happy
In a little while . . . and to Kausalya
And all the friendly court make brave farewells
From Sita in the forests.

Lakshman.— Farewell, Sita.

O, ye gods, have mercy on thy child
And on myself, blind foolish instrument
In this dread sin. Swiftly I go. Farewell.

(*Exit Lakshman*)

Sita.—Farewell, dear brother, I must now be brave.
O Ram, my Ram, never to see thee more.
So suddenly and rudely torn from thee,
My heart is numb with a fierce bitter pain
That overwhelms my spirit utterly.
Banished from Ram my very soul is stripped
Of any being—Void and purposeless
What's Sita now but a dead winter leaf
Which flutters here and there in the cold wind?
And Ram himself what does this mean to him?
Such is true love, it is no vanity
To know the other's wretchedness apart.
'T would be to disbelieve his secret vows
To think him not as suffering as myself.
Tenderest Ram thou makest my pain thine
Comforting me, and I thy noble action
With loyal thought for ever will support.
Therefore, beloved, in reality
We still are one, in mind and spirit one . . . .
But Sita will not ever see thee more,
Nor hear thy loving voice, nor feel thy touch.
O surely this is more than I can bear
Even for Rama's sake, O cruel, cruel fate.
Why hast thou overwhelmed us in such ruin?

(*Weeps.*)

Enter Valmiki—

Who is this lonely desolated one?

Though simply clad she hath a royal mien
That speaks her birth in every gracious movement.
(Drawing near to her)
Dear weeping child, that should be glad and fair
What is it that can break thy young heart so?
Of one so old and frail, who many storms
Of grief hath wintered through, be not afraid.
Tell him thy sorrow; thou shalt find a heart
That understandeth well all human woe.

Sita.—Hermit I thank thee for thy kindly words
Intended for my comfort but they do make
Mine eyes with weak self-pity weep afresh,
Pity me not; there is no cause for woe
And all is for the best.....

Valmiki.— Thy tear stained eyes.....
And desolate countenance accord not with
(Recognising her)
Thy brave defiant words, my queenly child.
Surely.....I know thy face...though sadly changed
It is the fair sweet face of Rama's Queen
Sita, the well beloved, the precious one.
O, thou so loved, why stricken so with grief
And thou a Queen, alone and unattended?

Sita.—O, Valmiki, thou tender hearted sage
Ask me not yet the reason of my weeping.
I cannot speak of it until my mind
Composes all the tumult of its thoughts,
That now so rage and tear me inwardly
That I am all bewildered.

Valmiki.— Daughter mine
Forgive my questionings, and come with me
Unto the quiet of the hermitage,
For there is peace for every troubled heart
Shelter and lodging for all wanderers.
I will not vex thee with my curious words.
Enough for me to know the noblest Queen
Hath some heart-breaking grief.

Sita.— O, Valmiki
Thy gentle tenderness is balm indeed
To one who is sorely tired. For thy protection
Thanks I give to thee.

Valmiki.— O, thank not me
To God give thanks in Whose Will is our peace.
Come, let us go, and seek some food and drink
Rest for thy tired travel-wearied body
And for thy soul with prayers and meditations
Comfort and strength.

Sita.— With deeply thankful heart
I go with thee. Under thy wisest guidance
Even this the bitterest grief that ever wrung
The heart of man may yet be overcome.

Exit Sita and Valmiki.

INDIAN VILLAGE ASSEMBLIES.

History has with many of us in India a way of numbing generous emotions. All things we had; they are of little avail now; we can expect little of them in future. A lukewarmness develops into a contempt of the past in the case especially of those who think to dispose of the future. Yet we can have little security without a sense of the dependence of the present upon the past. History, like all true knowledge, is an aid to the solution of present problems though it does not provide specific answers to specific questions. In the past we built a shrine. History provides the experience for building a shrine again within us, but does not build it. If we have the site, the clay, the brick and the mortar, we can rebuild it. Recent Indian studies in our ancient democratic institutions and public administration give us a good deal of data, but have however all been neglected in our present day politics; the historical sense seems to be absent within us; we think we can make whatsoever we will of the land we inhabit but did not create.

The vitality of the old communal village system of the land and the large jurisdiction exercised by local bodies and assemblies, exhuberant in their growth and variety have been the surprises which a recent work, Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee's "Local Government in Ancient India," has offered. We find here Lord Metcalfe's well-known observations once again reiterated: and the efficacy of a democratic system of rural polity in extending and preserving one of the oldest of the world's cultures through a broken and chequered political history demonstrated by thoughtful and scientific research. The immediately practical interest of such a work lies in the lessons which past annals furnish for the present difficult inquiry into the needs and forms of Indian government; but we refuse to profit by it. While

researches such as these are accepted as proving that Hindu Society was capable of evolving a highly vigorous system of co-operative village administration, the melancholy 'fact' is adduced without much evidence that the local institutions are 'dead and buried beyond the possibility of resurrection.' (*The Times Literary Supplement*, reviewing the book.) The dictum that Politics is the fruit of history,—insists upon the attempt to benefit from past political experiences; at the same time chauvinistic and other 'tendencies' should not be permitted to warp the enquiry into existing facts and conditions as well as the judgment about building the future on them. The methods of rearing a political constitution on the foundation of existing local juridical bodies and village assemblies would receive readier solution in the hands of history, the more the present enquiry is unbiassed and discriminate.

Throughout the course of political evolution in the past, and through all the vicissitudes that the land has passed through, the Indian village assemblies have in some provinces till late in the eighteenth century enjoyed a sort of semi-independence. India, like China or Russia, had been a land of myriads of petty republics; and though their autonomy and scope of jurisdiction shrank from time to time with the rise of a strong and influential kingdom, and the location of *kardars*, *jaghirdars*, capitalists and guarantors of State revenue in the neighbourhood, the village assemblies were left to enjoy their autonomy as long as they collected the revenue or tax (which they themselves apportioned among the inhabitants) and sent them to the royal treasury. The Supreme Government dealt with the village assemblies, not with the inhabitants. Time, joint burden and responsibility, and the advantages of agricultural co-operation glued the different elements of the village together: and one of the well-known types of the village community developed itself perhaps streaked with local peculiarities. The village assemblies looked after revenue collection, economic management and the administration

of justice, both civil and criminal. The State in India, as Dr. Mookerjee vividly reminds us, throughout recognised the precedence of these village communes by treating with them "more or less on terms of equality," and by paying great deference to the village headmen. A most interesting inscription (9th century) is that in which some chiefs who are at war with one another entered into an agreement with a village headman to look to the peace of the villager under their protection, and to pay a fine of 100 *panam* if any villager is injured. The King had to respect the laws of the local bodies and he interfered only in cases of gross mismanagement or embezzlement of communal funds. South Indian inscriptions go to show that the village assemblies seem to have been the absolute proprietors of the village lands. All property except those reserved as Crown land or dedicated to temples was regarded as belonging to the village assemblies, not to the State. New clearings and reclamations of virgin lands went to the village assemblies and not to individual proprietors, as also lands abandoned for crime against the village (*grama-droha*) or arrears of dues. They also sanctioned settlements and assessed the taxes, and were authorised to confiscate and sell the lands, if taxes were unpaid for full two years (No. 29 of 1893). Some inscriptions give examples of "double transactions," *i. e.*, the King grants certain lands tax-free and then the temple authorities have the charter engraved by the villagers and the remitted tax deducted from the village accounts (Nos. 540, 541, 542 of 1911). The rights of village self-taxation recognised by the state through long centuries still linger in the south and this alone can explain not only the existing variety of taxes and sources of village communal funds but also the rights the South Indian villagers still want to exercise over the *samudayam* property, both lands and fisheries.

Three classes of village assemblies have been said to exist in the south; those of the general body of residents in a village which were called *urar* and those of the

merchants (and professionals?) called *nagarattar*. The district assembly *nattar* was also a body which met when, perhaps, subjects touching the interests of the whole district were discussed, or when there were no sabhas to represent the villages within the district (H. Krishna Shastri). There were qualifications laid down for membership. The assemblies met perhaps in the *sabha-mandapams* of the temples or under the big pipal or olive tree on the platforms where were also installed the *nagar* sitting on judgment over right decisions or charitable gifts. The Brahman sabhas were ordinarily communal local assemblies, governing every kind of interest in the villages, but would form local associations for other purposes; merchants and traders (*nagarattar*), villagers and district representatives (*nattar*) were spoken as joining (No. 14 of 1906). These assemblies split themselves into district committees to watch the interest of the gardens, wet and dry fields, tanks and irrigation, tolls and shop-rents, waste-lands and their reclamation, the regular management of temple services and charities. Even now village assemblies in the Tamil country are seen as of old managing not merely common village lands or temple lands, levying fees or cesses on purchase and sale of goods for common purposes such as irrigation, sanitation or communal recreation, but also advancing agricultural loans out of *padupanam*, and deciding all petty cases which otherwise would have gone to the courts. Nor is the segregation of caste-government so marked as to inhibit the active participation of all castes in the village councils as in the past.

The elements of ancient Munda-Dravidian culture first mingled together to produce the compact and efficient village system: this was assimilated and comprehended by the political institutions of the Aryan village community which formed the foundation of Indo-Aryan polity. Thus was evolved the conglomerate structure of the Indian village communities, knit together no longer by tribal customs or motives of self-interest, but by common ethical and social

ideals worked out in a deeply humanised and socialised life by the abiding instincts of communalism with which these races have been so richly endowed.

The aboriginal or the Aryan unit in India was the village. About the differences between the primitive Dravidian and the primitive Aryan village, about the early growth of law and the subsequent growth of a *quasi*-feudal society, a great deal may be written. But it is worthy of remark that in the old as well as in the existing form of Dravidian and Munda village there is developed a compact tribal organisation under a more or less centralised government; the tribes are sub-divided and grouped into village communities, each under a headman who allots the land within the village area and settles any disputes as to the location of any family; there is a hierarchy of village officers, who look after tribal morality and the equable distribution of land; there is an elaborate establishment of lots or holdings for the headman, the priest, the deputy or accountant and a staff of artisans and menials. The village sacred tree or grove, the village deity and the village dance or festival symbolise the unity of the village settlement; while a group of villages or tribal territorial divisions unites to form a larger territorial unit comprising from 10 to 100 villages,—a confederacy meeting in assemblies to confer on any important matter that concerns several of the villages in common. In every village there seems to have been a more or less distinct plan or method of location and of allotting different holdings. When new settlers were to be admitted, there was a redistribution of lands, and the holdings for which reservoirs were created by a dam or by supplying irrigation for the terraced rice-field on the hill side were regarded as permanent.

But everywhere the claim to property in waste land and the custom of a periodical redistribution of land was practised. In South Indian communities as well as in the Munda-Dravidian villages in South-West Bengal, the shifting tenures with the accompanying periodical divisions of

land are still to be traced. Thus though Baden Powell is right in ascribing the formation of villages to the tribal constitution and system of land administration of the Dravidians, he is clearly mistaken in denying the connection of the original and essential 'ryotwari village' with collective village ownership. Full of theories derived from Maine, Baden Powell deduces collective village ownership from the joint family and his study of North Indian village communities with collective ownership of land held in ancestral shares confirms his hypothesis. Yet it cannot be gainsaid that tribal conceptions of property as well as collective village ownership are true not only of certain tribes such as Biluchis, Pathans and others, and Rajputs, Gujars and Jats in the Punjab and the North-West, but also of the autocthenous Munda-Dravidians in Chota Nagpur, Western Bengal, Central and South India. Baden Powell's contention that the earliest settlers in India had no ideas of common tribal ownership and that individual property was the rule even in early or primitive land settlement cannot be accepted. It is true that we do not find at present communal ownership among the Munda-Dravidian tribes, but the custom of periodical distribution of holdings equalising the fertility of different lots of land is often discernible among them, while the jealous maintenance of the rights of the whole tribe or its sections over the uncultivated wastes cannot be explained away in the way it has been done by Baden Powell. Among the Santals there existed or still exists an actual custom by which they give up all their lands except their house-sites at the end of the Santal year and only resume individual possession after getting the sanction of the *panchayat*. Again, the periodical distribution of holdings held by non-privileged families and sellers and a regulation of rights in the common forest or sacred grove which still remains intact in Chota Nagpur and Coorg, can still be traced. Everywhere among the Dravidian peoples, plots of land are set apart from the common village settlements for village officers, artisans and

menials, and this had affected the land distribution especially of Madras, Bombay and the Central Provinces. Indeed, in the ryotwari villages of the south, where we have the Dravidian preponderance, these are ancient and original features as admitted by Baden Powell himself. There are also survivals of village customs showing a difference of rights in the common lands between original settlers and strangers and even as regards the fresh distribution of the village reserve lands by the village councils so that it may be possible to satisfy new settlers or persons needing larger holdings without having to disturb the others. Again, the distinction Baden Powell draws between joint ownership of a village and the possession of the village common and grazing grounds and other traces of original clan properties, or the custom of a periodical distribution of the tillage lands or the fallow is refuted by economic history which often finds them as inseparable stages in the evolution of property and of early village forms in different countries. Indeed, Baden Powell's obsession with Maine's emphasis of the joint family ownership prevented him from giving a due consideration to the elaborate agricultural and grazing customs, forest rights and irrigation rules of the Munda-Dravidian peoples in which are to be sought the real origins of Indian land settlement and agrarian distribution. The Dravidian communal tenure and organisation have been obscured by the Hindu codes of property as well as feudal and other tendencies which developed even among some of the Dravidian folks, as the Gonds, for instance, in Central India; but they still remain the original bedrocks of the Indian social constitution, while any contrasts between communal proprietary usages of the rice-growing Munda-Dravidians of the south and individual (or family) property customs of the wheat-cultivating Aryan stocks were softened by long settlement and the inevitable exigencies of rice cultivation in the plains of the country. In the Aryan settlements throughout South India there still exists, in spite of the emphasis of the sacred rights of individual

family households, the collective ownership over common lands, irrigation channels, *etc.*, called the Samudayam which is independent of the joint family law and economy. This is similar to the ancient customs relating to common ownership of land in the Indian village community described by Strabo in Northern India. Indeed, among the agricultural tribes of the North, where the Aryan influence was the strongest in spite of the emphasis on rights of family property, we find ample evidence of common rights over the adjoining forests and irrigation channels as well as traces of early clan properties and periodical divisions, as in South and Central India and Bengal, while the law of pre-emption which we find even in the ancient codes also points to a fact of communal ownership, though it is difficult to refer it to Aryan or Munda-Dravidian source or to the conditions of Indian agricultural geography. It is these latter which have perpetuated communal tenures and agricultural usages amongst different stocks, Negrito or Dravidian, Hindu or Mahomedan, and checked that emphasis of private rights which has been made so such of by Baden Powell with his pronounced bias against communal origins in social anthropology. It is very probable that the rice-growing races of the south among whom the institution of the communal holding of land with periodical redistribution of the fields is inherent took to northern India the custom of communal ownership along with the *panchayat* the appointment of which was the effect of the system of shifting tenures. Wheat and barley are associated with individualistic as rice with communalistic organisation of agricultural society. Wheat cultivation came first to North India with the Aryan stocks with whom land was held as the family property. They did not live in contiguous huts like those of the Dravidians, but the whole family lived together in their own homestead. As both these principal crops have grown together ideas of individual and communal proprietary rights have intermingled in the north, though there preponderates here the rule of individual (or family)

property in land which distinguishes the *bhaiachara* and *pattidari* systems of tenure. The gradual process of Hinduisation, again, implies the supersession of the Dravidian promiscuity by the institution of the joint family, and thus the development of family rights has in many places eclipsed the old communal customs in the *ryotwary* villages of the south. Yet the centre point of the village, the original grove and waste land still remains. It was the centre (and is still so among the Mundas) where all village children were begotten at the seasonal feasts and when the marriage bond replaced the Munda-Dravidian promiscuity; the custom still persists in Bengal and Bihar of marrying the bride, and sometimes her husband as well, to the parent tree of the village. The Panchayat still sits under the shade of the village tree, and there are images near by of the guardian deities of the village as well as of the Dravidian boundary snake which encircles the village limits, in whose presence the annual partitions of land were formerly made and in whose name oaths are still taken in village land disputes in South India. It was also the centre of the central village of the Dravidian tribal division, the *parha*, and when *parhas* grew into kingdoms, the king's province was the centre of those ruled by his vassal chiefs. This is more clearly discernible even now in Central India and Malabar than elsewhere.*

The regular institutions of Dravidian autonomous villages unions of villages, and territorial divisions, of which evidences meet us everywhere, show different degrees of social and economic development in different regions and among different stocks under different geographical and historical conditions. In some tracts the original Dravidian agriculturist holdings were overborne by overlord tenures on a feudal basis with their connected fiefs and minor holdings and this specially in inaccessable mountain fastnesses and forest regions. While in some broad and fertile plains as in the south, when the difficulties of clearing the

* Hewett, Origin of Indian Land Tenure, J. R. A. S., 1897.

jungle was once surmounted, everything would be favourable to the development of an elaborate organisation of rural self-government, which a powerful monarchy had to tolerate in its own interests. Thus the Indian village has in a crystallised form survived the feudal tendencies which grow from within, the encroachment of a centralized kingship as well as the successive foreign invasions and their resulting overlordships. In the successive types of village rule its headman has always been adopted as an integral part. As a leader of the party of settlers the headman and a special holding set apart for him, and the territorial chief was also supported by another lot of land in each village, the entire produce of which went to him. This latter plan, however, was gradually superseded by the chief taking a share in the grain produce of all lands, except the village headman's and certain other privileged settlers. This share in the grain became the principal source of State revenue, and is the parent of our modern land revenue. With the introduction of the grain share came the appointment of a second official, the prototype of the *patwari* or the *karnam* (the *karnam* is a name very common in Madras and has been changed into *karan* in Western Bengal), and he also was remunerated by a hereditary holding of land. It is these ancient holdings that were afterwards called by the Mahomedan rulers *watan*. All the *watan* lands and the various privileges and dignities associated with them constituted a family property which was capable of descending to a number of heirs jointly. Further, in each village there grew up a staff of artizans, menials and servants, who became hereditary and served the village, not for payment by the job (such a thing was of course unknown), but for a regular remuneration, paid in kind, chiefly by a fixed share in the harvest. Conquest or usurpation or Mahomedan dominion and grant introduced many grantees and other superior holders of estates whose successors remain to this day. It is very significant, however, that the Mahomedan land holding villages and tribes in Northern

India generally follow the custom of family land holding. The Mahomedan law of inheritance is not much adhered to, the joint family system is observed; thus the forms of Mahomedan joint village are strikingly similar to the Rajput, Jat, Gujar villages in the north, though there are varieties of joint villages, whether tribal, "democratic," or held by the joint descendants of "aristocratic" founders, as the prevailing tenure from the plains of the Indus to those of the Ganges and the Jamuna. In any case grant or conquest or usurpation has always created overlord tenures bearing down the rights of an earlier joint community, who once had the village lordship are now gradually reduced in their turn to being inferior proprietors. Thus have been created in every province of India subordinate or inferior interests in particular plots and fields and sometimes interests extending over the whole of the older cultivation if not over the whole village area. It would be an interesting task for a sociologist to analyse each of these elements, Dravidian, Aryan, or Mahomedan, to indicate its respective marks on the structure and composition of the village assembly, the caste panchayat or the tribal organisation or on the systems of agrarian settlement and distribution and the methods of cultivation or communal rights in land in the different provinces and among different stocks and strata of Indian society, or again on the plan and structure of the village and the temple, determined by ritualistic and symbolical principles still active in different parts of India.

Be this as it may, the vigorous system of co-operative village rule to the manifold and complex growth of which all the elements of Indian civilisation have contributed was already a tried structure of venerable antiquity when the Anglo-Saxon invaders were first establishing their self-governing villages in Britain in the 5th century A. D.; and has survived usurpation or conquest or the shock and collision of the forces of history. The Anglo-Indian land-revenue system is the most recent of the forces of disintegra-

tion, but has only eclipsed and not superseded the strength of the village community and of its assembly. The policy of direct relations with the individual ryots in matters of land-revenue, a system which has been long in force under the British ægis in Madras and Bombay and which is tending to substitute itself for the old joint proprietary ryots in the United Provinces has worked as much mischief as legislation and administration on an individualistic basis or the establishment of local civil and criminal Courts, but has not entirely suppressed communal interests and the regular village system which is still rendering useful services. The Board of Revenue, Madras, making a last protest against the introduction of the Ryotwary Settlement which in their opinion threatened to break up the community of interest on which the village system depends, once remarked "to dissolve this unity of interest and common stock of labour by requiring each to take instead of a share he possessed and owned, a defined part of the whole land of the village, would not be very different from dissolving a joint stock company in England and requiring each proprietor to trade upon his own portion of it, in order that it may be separately taxed." But the dissolution has since continued in the interests of a bureaucratic system of revenue collection and management though the village system has notwithstanding still retained its unity. Throughout the country the village assemblies are still administering village affairs, finance and justice. Neither Mauryan bureaucracy, nor Muhammedan inroads, neither the centralised administration of Akbar or Aurangzeb, nor modern British ryotwari or permanent settlement have obliterated the traditional rights of the village communities as described in the *Arthasastra* or the *Sukra-Niti*, though the tendencies of British rule have been most disintegrating and disruptive so far as the village system is concerned. The village assemblies are still to be seen looking after public property, *e. g.*, that of temples and village endowments, and forming a court of justice for the decision of

small civil suits, such as the boundaries of lands and for the trial of petty criminal cases like larceny and assault. All this persists and represents a continuity of traditions described by Kautilya (Arthasastra, Book II, Chap. I). The officers of the village mentioned by Sukra, *viz.*, the headman, the Superintendent of Police. the revenue-collector, the toll-gatherer, the clerk and the watchman, are still to be found in full complement in many parts of India, but their independence of authority and autonomous jurisdiction have become unknown. Formerly the village officers were not subject to vexatious interference from the central administration. The king's officers 'must live' outside the village (Sukracharyya V. 179), and did not ordinarily interfere with the administration of local affairs except when their counsel was invited, though occasionally they called for the village accounts and adjusted matters relating to temple endowments, common funds, the collection of village cesses, etc., when any complaints were forthcoming. But cases of close inspection and interference are the rule rather than the exception under the present system. In the Mahomedan period it was not the invasions, the internal wars or the dynastic revolutions but the pernicious system of appointing revenue agents and officials, too often outsiders and strangers from the imperial or provincial courts for the collection of the imperial revenue that affected the political influence the village communities possessed under Hindu rule, But local autonomy was preserved under a government, almost entirely fiscal like that of the Mahomedan. Sir Willian Hunter says: "This separation has stamped itself in the language of the people. The terms for the village and its internal life are almost everywhere taken from the vernacular Indian speech; but beyond the village stretched the Persian zila or district and beyond the zila, the Persian subah or province, whose capital formed the residence of the remote government or Persian Sarkar." Even under the beneficent Akbar though the village elders were not treated in terms

of respect which belonged to independence, they were entrusted with complete freedom in the management of local affairs, while in the South, where the long and effective hand of Mahomedan administration could not reach, the village assemblies enjoyed considerable autonomy till the British ascendency, imposing fines for breaches of communal laws and even having jurisdiction in cases where capital punishment was given and which were decided by the assembly of the whole *nadu* or region presided over by the king's deputy. It is very characteristic that in the south some of the terms of the smritis connected with local government still linger showing the abiding influence of Indo-Aryan culture on the Dravidian polity. Such words as *sabha*, or *samuha* (village assembly), or *mahan mukham kula-caste* assembly, *vadi* (plaintiff), *pratibadi* (accused), pati, deshadhepati; *pradhani* senapati (also found in central India and S. W. Bengal) *kula-ejman* (headman of caste or village), *gumastha* (clerk), *kanakan* (accountant who deals with gold), *grama-panam*, *grama-samudayam* (village funds), *karyasthan prabartisaran adhikari* (secretary), *dharma-mahimai*, (portion of profit set apart for religion), *samuha-matham*, *mula-parishad*, *simetoka* are culled by me from experiences of the present day rural administration of Tamil and Telugu districts, of Travancore, Malabar and Coorg. The number of Dravidian terms in this connection is too numerous to mention: the institutions are similar in their nature and procedure to those of the north. Neither Mahomedan nor Dravidian emperors, neither Mahratta nor Karnatic rulers could eclipse the strength and prestige of South Indian rural democracy, which is also to-day showing the sturdiest resistance to the disintegrating forces and circumstances. It was indeed a surprise when in a Brahmin village I saw a *samuham* (a smriti word and institution) owning common lands (samudayam, again a smriti word), worth a lac of rupees, maintaining a guest-house, a temple, a Veda-patshala, and arranging out of communal income for 'sahasranamajapam' and the recital of the Vedic hymns,

Kaveripuranam and Bhagbatam, of the incantations from the Atharvaveda during times of epidemic as well as for the periodical festivals of Saraswati, Bhagavati, Ganesa and Sastha, for poor relief, feeding on 'dwadashi,' Upakarma and Gayatrijapam days and the performance of the funeral ceremonies of the destitute on auspicious occasions like jatakarma, namakaranam, annaprasanam, choulam, upanayanam, vivaham and simantam, a small fee is charged which goes to the *samuham*. Every group of ten families has a vote to elect a member for the assembly (sabha) which consists of 30 members. From out of these the executive committee, *nirvaha* sabha, of nine is appointed. The president, *gramani* (a word commonly to be met with in Vedic polity) and the secretary, kanakan, are members both of the committee and the general assembly. This is the traditional village organisation of Indo-Aryan polity described in our old *nitis*, and this along with the technical names of the officials and bodies has survived so far south as Travancore where the process of centralisation is not less marked than in British India and the village *parabatikarans* are often imported by the native government from outside, a stranger to the village community. From the north to the south, from the east to the west nothing can show better the fundamental cultural unity of India.

The rights of the Indian village community which were jealously safeguarded before but now jealously encroached upon have not disappeared, even as the central tree and the platform, the tank and the shrine with associated public hall and court and the guardian deity of justice installed therein have survived, enduring monuments of a democratic polity and of a socialised religion with which this polity is so closely bound up. They are too old and deep-rooted to fall a prey to only fifty years of a powerful and centralised administration. But not merely in villages. The principle of self-government still operates also in craft-guilds, banking and mercantile corporations and religious organisations in our cities. The informal customs and laws of

such myriad bodies and associations also represent a continuity of historic traditions embodied in our old legal literature. Similarly the federation of a group of local bodies, either village communities or guilds, still survives.

Indian political evolution does not stop, as is so often alleged, with the history of the self-governing village. We have instances of the union of villages in a larger political and administrative organisation. In inscription No. 600 of 1908 the great assembly of twelve nadus at Tiruppidavur is referred to. There is also another reference to the assembly of the inhabitants of Valla-nadu, a sub-division, which declared that thenceforward they would afford protection to the cultivators residing within the four boundaries of the sacred village of Tiruvarangulam and its devadana villages. If anyone of the assembly was found to rob, capture the cows or do other mischief to cultivators, the assembly agreed to assign two *Mass* of wet land to the temple by way of fine for the offence committed (No. 273 of 1914). Another inscription records that the people living in the district called Rallapadikonda-Chola-Vala nadu, covering a large portion of the Pudukkotai State, entered into an arrangement for collecting brokerage on betel-leaf. This arrangement was supervised by the people of the district and the blameless five hundred men, constituting the army (padai) of the district. The word nadu, which is still in use, means a country or district, and the assembly of a particular nadu or a large number of nadus, which will be equivalent to a modern provincial conference or congress grouped together under one political authority, represents a more complex political integration. Thus beginning from the Brahmin *sabha* or the village urar, we find an ascending series through the mahasabha, the larger Brahmin assembly, the nagarattar, the assembly of the traders and merchants, the *nanadeshi* or merchants from abroad, the nattar or the district assembly, and the assembly of the nadu or a larger division in ever-expanding circles of territorial jurisdiction, marking also the transition from an ethnogenic to a demotic composition.

In such a federation all interests, industrial, commercial, agricultural and Brahminical, were represented, and the principles of functional and territorial representation were fused. These democratic gatherings, which comprised often more than a thousand people, were held to protect from invasion, to found new towns or to levy import duties in a region and arrange for their collection, etc. But everywhere the necessity of greater strength for defence has been the main cause of federalism in ancient Greece, in mediæval and modern Europe as well as in mediæval India. Thus the assemblies of the Nadu resembled to some extent the Boeotian the Achaean and the Aetolian leagues.

The development out of the more primitive group of village communities was in two directions. First, the extensive caste or guild may be called a sort of a large federation of villages. Secondly, there was normally a very loose federation of agricultural communities, traders and merchants, villages and cities whose political union became closer as civilisation went on or the forces of aggression from without became more powerful. Whether meetings were summoned ordinarily or in occasions of special urgency depended on the periods of weakness or strength of the popular consciousness, whether it was a union of co-ordination on an equal footing depended upon the relative power of the individual units; whether it was a mere juxtaposition of the different elements and not their fusion depended upon local conditions and circumstances. But the fact cannot be denied that the village communities and the cities, while retaining their original independence and plurality in all internal matters, were passing into larger political organisations on a federal basis rising layer upon layer from the lower rural and communal stratifications on the broad and stable basis of popular self-government. This crucial phenomenon in our socio-political history demands attention, for it is almost universally supposed that India did not evolve any political organisation between the autonomous village and the central government. The special corpora-

tions of merchants or religious sects or sub-sects jointly exercising their rights and privileges including those of taxation and coinage of money or their modern counterparts, the guilds of craftsmen and merchants, Komtis, Shanas, Lingayets, Marwaris and even Pachamas who are distributed among a number of sub-divisions, and even districts yet come under a centralised social management under ejamans, mahajans or gurus, in a far-off temple, trade-centre or village. Such non-local associations represent an integration by mere reduplication of parts for satisfying functional needs. The assembly of the nadus, on the other hand, is a territorial organisation, which has a composite structure and constitution of its own meant to give expression not to functional needs or interests, but to the whole corporate life of communities, rural and urban, under their jurisdiction.

It is significant that such local bodies and assemblies retained their autonomy even during the hey-day of Chola imperialism (985-1035 A. D.) Rajaraja the Great and his son Rajendra Chola Deva whose conquests ranged from Kalinga on the north to the Laccadives and Maldives, the Andaman and Nicobar islands in the south, from the Malabar coast and Coorg to Pegu tolerated the independent civil and criminal jurisdiction of these bodies, their absolute rights to lands and to self-taxation and even entrusted them with crown lands or money as investments for interest as long as they paid regularly a small charge on the land and some petty imposts.

There is distinct evidence in the South Indian inscriptions, of a fusion of political, social and industrial elements such as represented by a consolidated meeting of the village assembly (urar), the Brahman assembly (maha-sabha), the district representatives (nattar), the occupational guild council (ganattar), the city corporation (nagarattar) and the nadu. The political integration thus reached shows a more composite structure than that represented by mere aggregations of similar units, worked up into such compound forms such as the familiar associations on a mere territorial,

or on a mere functional basis; and in its complex co-ordination of the functions of local and non-local associations it appears to anticipate to some extent the recent plans for guild socialism or syndicate control and their line of political reconstruction. These recognise to-day the value of the group and find that the variety of group life to-day in the west has a significance which must be immediately reckoned with in political method. In the Indian scheme of polity, while many of the schemes and ideals of representation based upon vital modes of associations are held in solution, it avoids many weak points of the western political pluralists or advocates of vocational representation. In India, the scheme of communalism avoids the clash of divided allegiances. There is an integration of neighbourhood and occupational groups and other functional groups as their importance and usefulness demand—as their "objective value" is manifest, thus correcting many partial points of view which we get from the more specialised groups. The various and varying allegiances actually live in and through the other and this compounding of allegiances which still remains the dream of western political pluralists is being worked out in the local units as a matter of experiment and tradition though not in legislatures and parliaments on the top.

RADHA KAMAL MOOKERJEE.

THE WAR AND THE INDIAN EXCHANGE SITUATION.

II

The great initial mistake of the British Government was to stop all export of gold on private account to India on the outbreak of the war.

In view of the fact that gold was freely exported to neutral countries in payment of the purchases of war materials, it is difficult to justify the motives underlying the policy of the Government in restricting the free movement of gold to India. The bogey of Imperial interests did not stand in the way of exporting £100 millions in 1915 alone to the U. S. A. Later on owing to the difficulty of exporting gold, gold stations were established in Canada, Australia, and South Africa.*

Mr. Dadiba Dalal in his Minority Report brought a most damaging charge against the Government, who were alleged to have taken various measures for exchange control with a view to "compel India to take silver in payment of the balances due to her—a policy managed and settled in London, to the interests of the London Money Market."

The late Sir William Meyer, the late Finance Member, also complained that the Gold Import Act, because of the low rate offered, did not attract sufficient quantities of gold to India. In reply to a question put to him, while tendering evidence before the Babington Smith Committee, he said: "In my time as Finance Member we were rather emphatic in our representations home as to the inadequacy of the rate but we were told that the Treasury did not consider that a larger rate was proper."—Q. 3323.

The late Sir Lionel Abrahams in placing the official side of the case before the Committee said: "There were authorities in this country, who thought reasonably enough that the central needs of the Empire ought rather to be consider-

* *c. f.* "British War Finance" by Kiernan p. 116.

ed and that India ought not to put anything like a premium on gold."

We are not surprised at the attitude of the Home Authorities in such a matter; but surely one would have expected a more sympathetic and more generous outlook from the Government of India who, contrary to all their professions, sent a telegram on the 16th April 1919, to the Secretary of State, stating that no further supplies of gold were wanted by them though there was a regular scramble for gold in India at that time.

The great objection to removing the embargo on the gold imports into India was the misgiving that the Indian demand would deplete the London reserves. Modern economists take delight in ridiculing the mercantilist theories regarding the Balances of Trade, and the importance of precious metals in national economy. But the spectacle which we witnessed during the last war,- the feverish anxiety of each nation to increase gold reserves in Central Banks, the idea that gold is an indispensable adjunct to the successful prosecution of war, does not seem to show that we have outlived the mediæval age. The great German economist Gustav Schmoller calls it "Neo-Mercantilism," but it is difficult to see in what respect except in methods and policy of acquiring precious metals this "Neo-Mercantilism" differs from old Mercantilism.

Mr. F. C. Harrison gives a beautiful illustration which clearly shows how a country placed in the position in which India is suffers. He says: "where a country is an appendage of another more powerful one the latter usually takes control. In canine language it wags its own tail, or to adopt a more appropriate metaphor the big brother takes charge of the little one. This course has certain advantages in the matter of centring financial management and is certainly to the taste of the elder brother. But a real danger exists that the younger goes to the wall and is left to pick up scraps from his senior's well-furnished table." (*Economic Journal*, September 1917.)

The apprehensions entertained by the Home Authorities that India is a sink of precious metals are not borne out by facts if we take into consideration the population of India, her lack of proper banking facilities, slowness of transport, vastness of the country, and lastly the preponderatingly agricultural nature of the country which hampers the rapidity of circulation of money.

During 1890—1910 out of the world production of gold worth £1,233 millions, U. K., U. S. A., Germany, France, Italy absorbed amongst them 773 millions, while India absorbed only £126 millions of gold.* If sufficient quantities of gold had been allowed to be sent to India there would not have been that scramble for rupees and consequently the price of silver would not have risen to that giddy height.

We are asked to believe that gold is not popular in India and that the experiment which was made in 1900—1901 to popularise the circulation of gold coins proved a failure† But it is forgotten that times have changed greatly and there is now a genuine demand for gold.

Secondly.—Indian public opinion strongly takes exception to the manipulation of Exchanges by the Secretary of State at a place which is 6,000 miles away from the commercial centres of India. There was a storm of protest against the sale of Reverse Drafts at 2*s.*-11*d.*, but public opinion was deliberately flouted and the consequence was that India suffered a net loss to the extent of 35 crores of rupees. The Hon'ble Finance Member, in reply to an interpellation in the Council, declined to say who was ultimately responsible for the sale of Sterling Drafts. The following extract from his speech is significant: "We have been frequently asked to explain how far the persistence in the sale of Reverse Drafts on the system first adopted was due to deliberate choice and how far the responsibility lay with the Home Authorities. . . . . I regret it is not within the power of Government to answer these questions." *The conclusion is obvious.* It is this

* Palgrave's Dictionary of Political Economy Vol. II. p. 226.

† Keynes—Indian Currency and Banking p. 74.

system of the official management of Exchanges that is the most objectionable feature of the gold Exchange standard. As Mr. Hartley Withers puts it in his inimitable style: "The suggestion that the machinery of foreign remittance should be put into the hands of Government, calls up a vision full of shuddering horror of red tape, forms to be filled in, and delays and circumlocution which might be a serious drag on business. It is also safe to expect from previous experience of English enterprise as managed by the Government that the business would be carried on at a loss at the expense of the tax-payers of the countries involved." No more damaging criticism of the official management of foreign Exchanges could be made than in the above lines.

In all other gold-using countries though the greatest care is taken in attaining the maximum economy of gold in respect of internal circulation the normal flow of precious metals in adjustment of trade balances is always automatic and requires no State interference. Critics of the type of Mr. Shirras* forget that when the Indians demand a gold standard with gold currency they do not want the internal currency to consist mainly of gold, but at the same time they do not wish to see their country flooded with the demonetised silver of other countries. What India wants is that there should be no artificial management of her gold reserves by alien financiers at the India Office whose close association with the London Money Market precludes them, notwithstanding their best intentions, from doing full justice to India.

Moreover, it is a well-known fact that so long as Exchange remains the exclusive monopoly of the Secretary of State such manipulation is inevitable.

Professor Nicholson puts it admirably when he says that a Gold Exchange standard is suited to a dependant country and in aiming at stability of Exchange, a Gold Exchange standard ignores other functions of good money.†

* *c.f.* Shirras—Indian Banking and Currency p. 284.

† *c.f.* An article by Parker Willis in "Quarterly Journal of Economics" May 1917.

It is true that gold in the hands of the people is less useful for foreign remittance than gold held in central reserves. Mr. Hartley Withers says :* " It was often argued in times before the War that gold was an extremely wasteful form of currency, and it would be better to circulate paper with gold backing held by the Bank of England. The contrary argument, that the volume of gold in the pockets of the people was a reserve that would be very timely and useful if ever war and crisis arose, has been shown to be very true, and many modern experts are of opinion that this pocket money reserve should be built up again when the war is over." Thus the importance of having a strong "pocket money" reserve has been admitted by eminent economists in view of the conditions brought about by the War.

Thirdly.—Adverse criticism has been made against the policy of the Secretary of State of selling rupee council bills in excess of the actual requirement of the Government of India in England. Mr. Dalal in his Minute of Dissent made out a very clear case against this practice which has the effect of diverting payments to India in silver. As Mr. Dalal puts it: "There seems to be no good reason for trade with India to be conducted on different lines from those followed by other advanced countries. . . . . I consider that the Government would be performing its duty better by paying more attention to this aspect of the question than by showing anxiety for trade requirements." The late Governor of the Bank of England, Sir Brien Cockayne, suggested that India should follow the English practice of settling favourable foreign balances by investments abroad ; but so long as rupee bills are sold by the Secretary of State without limit of amount it is idle to expect that such investments will be made in foreign countries. The Smith Committee, however, recommended that Council Drafts should be sold primarily for providing Home Charges and not for convenience of trade. But if without inconvenience, or with advantage

* Withers "Business of Finance" p. 39.

the Secretary of State is in a position to sell drafts in excess of his immediate needs, when a trade demand for them exists, there is no objection to his doing so. It is not yet clear how far the Government propose to act upon this recommendation. The idea that gold should be economised as much as possible in its internal use as a circulating medium is certainly laudable; but such economy must not be pushed too far, and instead of forcing it on an unwilling people it should be attained by providing sufficient banking facilities in the country and the encouragement of a banking habit amongst the people. It is futile to expect that such a habit will grow up instantaneously. With the progressive industrialisation of the country the diffusion of primary education, improvement of communications and establishment of branch banking throughout the country we shall not have to wait for long for realising the ideal. The enactment of the Imperial Bank of India Act, however, brings us nearer the goal. According to the provisions of the Act the Imperial Bank is bound to establish 100 different branches within the next five years which will, in course of time replace the existing treasuries. The large Cash Balances which the Government have undertaken to place at their disposal, will add to their financial prestige and stability and will do much to attract the infructuous capital lying idle in the hands of middle class people and traders who are too nervous to deposit them with the various loan offices which have sprung up in different parts of the country.

With an increase in branch banking in different parts of the country there is little doubt that the habit of hoarding gold will be at a discount, and gold will readily find its way into the vaults of the banks periodically when the land revenue and other taxes are paid. The establishment of the Imperial Bank renders the currency reform much easier. It will not be out of place to mention here that Professor J. M. Keynes submitted a memorandum to the Chamberlain Commission in which he clearly pointed out that the one

great advantage of a State Bank for India would be the handing over to experienced bankers the management of the Paper Currency and Exchanges which is now performed by the Government of India. If the Government withdraw from the field handing over the management of the Exchanges and Paper Currency to the Imperial Bank, and if adequate steps be taken to introduce gold coins (no matter whether they are sovereigns or coins of a distinctive Indian design), the position of the Bank will not be much unlike that of the Bank of France. The Bank of France as is well-known protects its gold reserves in times of crisis and depression by charging a small premium on all gold required for foreign remittance. It may also exercise the option of paying in silver francs which are unlimited legal tender in France The Imperial Bank too might adopt similar measures to protect its gold reserves, provided the Government agree to transfer to it their large gold holdings in the Gold Standard Reserve. This reserve should be kept earmarked in the vaults of the Imperial Bank in *India*, and should be used only when there is a demand for foreign remittance. In the rare event of an import excess it could keep exchange steady by raising loans abroad or by the sale of foreign securities from the Reserves.

On the other hand, if owing to a favourable balance of trade gold finds its way into India and there is a strong demand for rupees, which for sometime to come will remain popular with the masses the Bank can exercise the option of paying in gold sovereigns which are unlimited legal tender in India. The admitted success which has crowned the efforts of the Bank of France to manage the Exchanges during the critical years of the War encourages us to believe that if the Imperial Bank be allowed to step into the shoes of the Government so far as the Currency and Exchange operations are concerned, India while enjoying many of the advantages of the Gold Exchange Standard will have a currency system which will not have to justify itself during every financial disturbance.

It must be recognised here that in view of the vast mass of silver rupees which are in circulation the adoption of a full-fledged gold currency (gold coins or notes payable in gold) must necessarily take considerable time. Accordingly, what is necessary is that any further coinage of rupees should be strictly restricted and with every opportunity rupees should be gradually retired. Every attempt should be made to increase the supplies of gold coins or notes redeemable in gold in the country. From Limping Standard such as prevails in France to Gold Standard is only a short and easy step. The transitional period may be long enough; but the country must hold its soul in patience to attain its ideal.

It stands to reason here to draw the attention of the authorities to the constitution of the Imperial Bank. Unless a larger Indian element is allowed representation on the Directorate it is not likely to inspire much confidence Moreover it is absolutely necessary that the financial affairs of this country must be placed under popular control and managed from India. The financial policy of India must not be dictated by Whitehall in future That is a condition precedent to inaugurating any sound currency and exchange policy in India.

The experience of the War has clearly shown the unsuitability of the Gold Exchange Standard for India. Mr. Hartley Withers, who jestingly calls this system "Half-way house in the matter of currency," points out that it is the uncomfortable habit of economic changes to run away with those who introduce them; and produce results often contrary to the intention of the reformers.

The Chamberlain Commission arrived at the finding that in the absence of a developed Banking system, Gold Exchange Standard is admirably adapted to the country on account of its cheapness. The establishment of the Imperial Bank knocks the bottom out of this contention.

The Report of the Smith Committee is in many respects out of date owing to subsequent developments. Under such

circumstances it is high time that the matter should be considered afresh.

It has been urged by some economists that no stable monetary standard can be established until the price levels in other countries have been established, as otherwise with every variation in the price-level the par of exchange or to be more correct what Professor Cassel calls "Purchasing Power Parity"* will move up and down. The self-adjustment of the pre-war exchanges was so rapid owing to the comparatively unrestricted movements of precious metals that it was possible to ignore this fundamental point, but this is no longer so in these days when the melting and export of gold have been forbidden in most countries. One of the greatest American economists Dr. Irving Fisher has been strongly advocating a tabular standard of value in the form of a "goods dollar" a dollar of fixed purchasing power but varying weight. The scheme has attracted the serious attention of economists all over the world, but the adoption of the plan would mean a definite abandonment of Gold Standard. Moreover, it would be a new experiment Hence no authoritative opinion has been expressed on the scheme.

Similarly, others have advocated the idea of an international currency guaranteed by the League of Nations.

A variant of this idea has been the scheme of Dr. Vissering of the Netherlands Bank. According to him countries with depreciated currencies should have two currencies, one on a Gold Standard and the other the present paper currency which should circulate at varying rates for gold until such time as a reduction in its quantity should bring it to its nominal gold value again † A system of organised barter should be instituted for those states whose currency can no longer be accepted as a medium of payment in the world traffic.

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* "Memorandum on World's Monetary Problems" by Gustav Cassel. *c.f.* also an article by Frank Morris, Bankers' Magazine, December 1922.

† *c. f.* "Foreign Exchanges" by T. E Gregory p. 98. *c.f.* also "International Economic and Financial Problems" by Dr. G. Vissering.

Mr. Darling of the London Joint City and Midland Bank has propounded another scheme for a fixed exchange between different parts of the British Empire. His idea is that the Bank of England should become the Bankers' bank for the whole of the Empire, that all ultimate balances should be kept there, that a uniform currency should be instituted, and that the reorganised Bank of England should have the right to issue notes based not entirely upon gold but upon approved Bills of Exchange.* Others again have advocated *Deflation and Devaluation.*

An exhaustive criticism of the above proposals cannot be undertaken here as they do not properly come within the scope of this paper. But it might be pointed out that the question of stabilising exchanges in different countries is a world problem. Consequently India cannot act alone in this matter. Whatever action is taken by the different Continental countries with a view to stabilise exchanges it can be safely predicted that vested interests will stand in the way of their definitely drifting away from a Gold Standard.

We feel, therefore, that in taking steps for the adoption of a full and automatic Gold Standard, India will come into line with other countries and the same considerations which will be applicable to those countries will also be applicable to India.

B. N. CHATTERJI.

* c. *f.* "Stabilisation of Imperial Exchange" by J. F. Darling, Journal of the Institute of Bankers, January 1921. *c.f.* A speech delivered by Sir Herbert Hambling—Journal of the I. of Bankers, December 1922.

(V) *The Mysterious Visitor.*

He had long held a Government appointment in our town and was now high in the service. He was universally respected, rich, and noted for his lavish philanthropy. He subscribed large sums to the poor house and the orphan asylum, and, after his death, it came out that he had been also an anonymous dispenser of charity on a most generous scale. He was aged about fifty, of stern expression, a man of few words. His wife was quite young (he had not been married more than about ten years), and they had three small children.

Well, the following evening, as I was sitting at home alone, the door opened and in walked this gentleman. I was, by the way, no longer in my own lodgings, for when my resignation was accepted I had moved into rooms kept by an old widow lady with one servant. My move was dictated by the fact that, being ashamed to look Afanasy in the face after my obeisance to him, I had sent him back to his Company the very day I returned from the duel. The man of the world is apt to be most ashamed when he has happened to act most righteously.

My visitor introduced himself by remarking that, having with the most intense interest heard me speak on several occasions, and at various houses, he was desirous of my better acquaintance, in order to go more deeply into the subject of my discourses. "Will you, my dear Sir, do me so great a service?" "With the utmost pleasure," I answered, "I regard your request as an honour." I said this not, however, without serious misgivings, for I was from the beginning profoundly impressed by this man. Other people had listened to me and had been interested in me, but no one had ever come to me before with such a serious,

stern, and purposeful expression. That he of all men should seek me out! He sat down and continued:

"You have proved yourself to possess great strength of character by daring to serve the truth in a way that might have brought you into general contempt."

"I am afraid you make far too much of my conduct."

"No," he answered, "I do not exaggerate. Take my word for it, to act as you did is far more difficult than you imagine. As a matter of fact, it made a deep impression on me and that is the only reason of my coming to you. Tell me, if you do not think my curiosity discourteous, and, if you can remember, what exactly were your feelings, at that moment in the duel, when you decided to beg his pardon. Do not think it an idle question. In putting it to you I have a personal reason, which, if God grant that we become friends, I shall probably disclose to you later on."

As he spoke I looked into his eyes and I knew all at once that I could trust him absolutely, and that he excited in me no ordinary interest because I felt his soul was burdened with some strange secret.

"You ask what exactly my feelings were at the moment when I asked my opponent to forgive me, but I had better tell you, what I have not yet told to anyone—the story right from the beginning."

I told him all that had passed between Afanasy and myself, and how I had bowed myself to the ground before him.

"You can see for yourself," I concluded, "that by the time of the duel my way was comparatively easy, because I had already taken the first step at home. That step taken, each successive step was not only not a matter of difficulty but a source of satisfaction and joy."

The look in my listener's eyes did my heart good. "All this," he said, "is extraordinarily interesting, and I shall come to see you again and again."

He hardly missed an evening after that, and, if only he had ever spoken of himself, we would have been great

friends. But he scarcely consented to say a word about himself, and kept on questioning me. Nevertheless he became very dear to me and I opened my heart to him with perfect frankness, arguing that the secret was no concern of mine, since I could see well enough already that he was a good man ; and it was much that a man of his calibre, and so many years my senior, should deign to come and listen to a youngster like me. And I learned much from him that profiteth, for his was a lofty mind.

"That life is heaven, and I have long known it," he burst forth one day, and suddenly he added, "I think about nothing else." He looked at me and smiled: "I am more convinced of that than you are." Sometime you will know why." This made me sure that he wanted to make some revelation to me.

"Heaven," he went on, "lies deep down within each one of us, lo, it is within even me now and I can, if I only will, make it a living reality for me to-morrow and henceforward." I saw that he was profoundly agitated and was looking mysteriously and challengingly at me.

"Your statement, that quite apart from our own sins of commission each one of us is responsible to all and for all, is perfectly just ; and that you were able in a flash to grasp the full significance of that thought moved me deeply. Verily, when men understand that, the kingdom of heaven will be for them no longer a dream but a reality. And when," I put in bitterly, "will this come to pass ? Will it ever come to pass ? Is it more than a dream ?" "What !" said he, "do you not believe it ? Have you been preaching what you do not believe yourself ? Believe me, this that you call a dream will undoubtedly come to pass ; but all things are subject to the law of their being and the time of fulfilment is not yet. It is a spiritual process, for except the heart of man be changed the new world will remain unborn. And except you become in truth and in fact the brother of all men fraternity remains a dream. No scientific knowledge, no perception of good to come, will ever enable

man to acquiesce without jealousy in an equal distribution of property and privilege. Each one will think his share too small, and there will be envy, and murmuring, and mutual destruction. You ask when it will come to pass ; it will come to pass but only when this period of individual isolation shall have come to an end."

"What exactly do you mean by isolation ? "

"Why, that which has always prevailed, that which, although its sway is not yet absolute, is most marked in this age of ours * * * Everyone strives to assert the complete independence of his personality, wishing to experience fulness of life as an individual ; but all his strivings result not in fulness of life, but in death, and far from finding himself, he loses himself in impotent isolation and solitude. Men to-day are isolated units each in his separate burrow, each one keeping his distance from his neighbour. He separates himself and his possessions and ends by shunning and being shunned. Unaided and alone he heaps up riches and boasts himself strong and secure : the madman does not understand that the more he amasses, the deeper he sinks in the slough of impotence. Relying on his own unaided efforts, a member severed from the body, he ceases to believe in co-operation either with individual men or with society, and his only fear is lest his money and his privileges perish from him. Everywhere, man blindly scorns the fact that security lies not in isolated individual effort but in community. This awful individualism must and will pass, and in a flash man will understand the unnatural folly of his severance from his neighbour. The spirit of the new age will lead men to marvel that they sat so long in darkness and saw not the light. And then the Son of Man will appear in the heavens.

But, till then, the flag must be kept flying and he who is called, though he works alone and the world count him fool must set an example to all, and so draw the soul of man from its solitude to seek fellowship and ensue it, that the great thought may not perish from the earth."

Our evenings one after another passed in fervent and rapturous discussions of this kind. I went out much less frequently, and even began to avoid meeting people. As a matter of fact, also, my vogue was passing. I say this not in criticism, for my relations with outsiders remained affectionate and good humoured, but there is no denying that in the world fashion plays a mighty part.

But my mysterious visitor I began to regard with a kind of rapturous admiration. Not only did I delight in his rare qualities of mind, but I began to perceive that he was contemplating some plan of action and was preparing himself for some, perhaps far-reaching, exploit. Whether or no he liked me for making no direct or indirect attempt to worm his secret from him, I noticed that he was now at last fretted by the desire to tell me something. Within a month of his first visit this became quite evident to me.

"Do you know," he asked me once, "that the people in the town are very inquisitive about us, and are wondering why I come to see you so often? Let them, *for soon all will be explained.*"

Sometimes he would work himself into a state of extreme agitation, and then as a rule he would rise and go. At other times he would fix his penetrating gaze on me for quite a time. I always thought then that he was about to blurt out his secret, but all of a sudden he would desist and turn the conversation on to the old lines.

He began also to complain frequently of headaches. One day in the most unexpected manner after he had spoken at length and with enthusiasm, his face suddenly became blanched and distorted, and he stared fixedly at me.

"What is the matter? Are you ill?" I said, for he had been complaining of his head.

"I . . . do you know . . . I am a murderer." He spoke with a smile, but his face was white as chalk, and the first thought that struck me before ever I realized anything else, was, "Why does he smile?" I too, turned pale and cried out "What is this you say?" "You see," he

answered, "with the same pitiful smile, "how hard it has been to say the first word. Now it is out, I feel that I have taken the first step and can go on."

For a long time, I refused to believe him, and did not do so until, during three successive visits, he had recounted everything in detail. At first I thought he was mad, but eventually, to my profound grief and amazement, I became convinced of the truth of his story.

Fourteen years before he had committed a great and terrible crime by murdering the widow of a landowner, a young and beautiful woman who had a house in the town. He had fallen passionately in love with her, declared his feelings, and tried to persuade her to marry him. But she was already betrothed to a distinguished officer of high rank, who was at that time on active service, but whom she expected back at no distant date. She, therefore, refused to marry him and requested him not to visit her. He ceased to call ; but with consummate audacity he utilized his knowledge of the house, at the imminent risk of discovery, to get on to the roof from the garden and enter it by night. Fortune favours the audacious criminal. Entering the garret through a skylight, he descended by a ladder to the living rooms ; he knew that the door at the bottom was often left unlocked through the carelessness of the servants.

His faith in their negligence was justified, and reaching the occupied part of the house, he made his way in the dark to the lady's bedroom, where a lamp was burning. As luck would have it, both her maids, without asking her permission, had gone off to a birthday party in a house near by ; all the other servants slept in their own quarters or in the kitchen on the ground floor. When he saw her sleeping form his passion flamed up, and then drunken with jealousy and vindictive hate, not knowing what he did, he went up to her and stabbed her to the heart. She did not even utter a cry. Then with devilish and most wicked cunning he made it appear that her servants had done the deed. He stooped so low as to steal her purse, to open her jewel case with the

keys from under her pillow, and to abstract such things as an ignorant servant would have done, taking only money and some of the larger gold ornaments, while leaving smaller articles of ten times the value and passing over valuable papers altogether. He also took away certain things to remember her by . . . . but of that later. The awful deed accomplished, he returned as he had come.

Neither next day, when the hue and cry was raised, nor ever afterwards, did the suspicion enter any one's head that he was the criminal. As a matter of fact no one knew of his love for the lady. He was always reserved and uncommunicative and he had no friend to whom he might have opened his heart. He was regarded merely as an acquaintance, not even an intimate friend of the murdered lady, for during the whole previous fortnight he had not once called on her. Suspicion fell at once on Peter, a serf servant of hers, whom all the circumstantial evidence united to denounce. He knew, and the deceased herself had made no secret of it, that he was to go off as a recruit. She was bound to give up one of her serfs to the army and her choice had fallen on him as a single man and a very unsatisfactory servant. And in a tavern, in a drunken fury, he had been overheard breathing forth murderous threats against her. Two days before her death he had run off and hidden himself in the dark quarter of the town. The day after the murder, he was found on the main road just outside the town, with a knife in his pocket and blood-stains on his right hand. He affirmed that the blood was from his nose which had been bleeding, but no one believed him. The maids confessed that they were out at a party and had left the front door unlocked till their return. And a whole mass of similar evidence threw a net around this innocent man. He was duly arrested and the trial began. Within a week, however, the prisoner caught fever and died unconscious in the hospital.

There the matter was left to the will of God, for all the judges, the authorties, and the public, were convinced that

no one but Peter the servant had been concerned in the crime.

Then began God's punishment.

My mysterious visitor, now also my friend, told me that at first his conscience did not trouble him at all. What troubled him was, not remorse, but sorrow that he had killed the woman he loved, that she was no more, and that he had thereby killed his own love while the fire of passion was still unquenched. The thought that he had shed innocent blood and taken the life of a fellow creature scarcely entered his mind. He considered it out of the question that his victim should have become the wife of another, and therefore he was long conscientiously of the opinion that no other course of action had been open to him.

The arrest worried him a little at first, but the subsequent illness and death of the prisoner set his mind at rest. So far as one could judge, he argued, death was the result, not of arrest or fright, but of a chill caught when as a runaway he had lain out on the damp ground dead drunk for a whole night. The theft of the money, etcetera, taken, as he similarly reasoned, not for gain, but to turn suspicion from himself, likewise caused him little or no uneasiness. The value of the theft was small and he lost no time in subscribing towards the maintenance of the town's poor house a sum that far more than covered it. He did this to reconcile his conscience to the theft, and, remarkable to relate (he told me this himself) his action had for a long time the desired effect

He then busied himself in the work of his department and at his own request was entrusted with a specially exacting and laborious piece of work This took him two years, during which, by sheer strength of will thrusting the memory of the deed from his mind whenever it occurred to him, he managed almost to forget the past. He busied himself with good works and founding and helping to maintain many of the town charities. His activities extended to the two capitals and he was elected

a member of philanthropic societies both in Moscow and Petrograd.

Yet in the end his mind fell a prey to painful thoughts beyond his power to master or drive forth. In this state he met a charming, beautiful and intelligent girl whom he promptly proposed to and married. He imagined that marriage would banish his loneliness and anguish, and that by a fresh start, and by scrupulously doing his duty to wife and children, he would be able to wipe completely from his mind all memories of the past. But his marriage had the very opposite result. From the very first month he could not keep the thought away "My wife loves me, but what if she found out?" When she told him that she was pregnant of their first child, he was appalled—"I am giving life who have taken life." And when children come "How dare I love, cherish, and teach them; how can I talk to them of virtue—I, the shedder of blood?" They were fine healthy children, and he longed to caress them "But I am unworthy to look on their bright innocence"—he thought.

In the end, the blood of his victim, of the young life he had destroyed, the blood calling from the ground for vengeance, menaced and haunted his imagination. He began to dream terrible dreams. But his fortitude enabled him long to endure, in the hope that his secret agony was the price of expiation. That hope too proved vain, and time but added to his suffering.

Notwithstanding the general awe of his sternness and gloom, his active benevolence won him the esteem of the public; but the higher his reputation, the more intolerable he felt his position. He confessed to me that he thought of suicide. A quite other solution, however, presented itself to his mind,—one which at first seemed ridiculous and unthinkable, but which so fastened itself upon him that he could not rid himself of it—namely, to stand forth before all men and declare himself a murderer for three years. In one shape or another, this

had haunted and pursued him, and at last he came to believe with his whole heart, that if he openly confessed his crime, he would find healing and eternal peace for his soul. This conviction filled him with horror, for how was he to act up to it? At the moment of his terrible perplexity there came what happened at my duel. "Your example has enabled me to make up my mind to it," he said.

"Is it possible," I cried, wringing my hands, "that so trivial an incident can be the occasion of so great a resolution?"

"My resolution," he answered, "is the growth of three whole years: your example only made it active. When I looked at you I could not but upbraid myself and envy you." He spoke with a touch of bitterness

"But your story won't be credited, after fourteen years."

"I have proofs, incontrovertible proofs: I shall produce them."

Then I burst into tears and embraced him. "One thing you must decide for me, one" (he spoke as if all now depended on me) "my wife and children! My wife may die of grief, and my children, even if they do not lose rank and property, will be the children of a convict and an exile What will they think of me when I am gone? To part from them, to say farewell for ever! It is for ever, you know, for ever!"

I sat still and repeated a silent prayer. I rose at last, awe-stricken. "What am I to do?" was the look he gave me.

"Go," I said, "make it known to all men. All flesh is as grass, but the truth endureth for ever. When they are big your children will understand the greatness of your action."

He left me in the belief that he had finally made up his mind. But he kept on coming to me every evening for a fortnight, eager, yet unable to take the plunge.

My heart wept for him. Sometimes he was determined and would say with deep emotion "I know that heaven will dawn for me the very moment I confess. These fourteen years I have been in hell. I want to suffer. I shall welcome the suffering for I shall have begun to live. You can pass through the world doing wrong, but the consequences of your sin go with you. I now dare not love my neighbour, nor even my own children. Surely they will understand what I have suffered and will not condemn me. God is not God in might but in right." "They will understand your action, if not at once, yet in the end, for you have served the truth, the highest, heavenly truth."

He would depart comforted, as I thought, but on the morrow would return pale with anger and with bitter words on his lips "Every time I come to you you look inquisitively at me, as much as to say." "He hasn't done it yet. Wait a bit, don't be too superior. Perhaps I shan't do it at all, and then may be you will play the informer, eh?"

So far was it from my custom to peer at him in idle curiosity that I used to hesitate before looking at him at all. I was quite unstrung through anxiety, and my heart bled for him. I could not sleep.

"I have just come from my wife" he continued. "Do you understand the meaning of wife," The kiddies, when I left them, called out to me, "Goodbye Daddy! Come back soon and read the *Children's Magazine* to us. No, you fail to understand that. Understanding is not the fruit of another's woe."

His eyes were preternaturally bright, his lips twitched, and, suddenly, he banged on the table with his fist and set everything on it dancing. It was the first time he, a man who ordinarily would not hurt a fly, had behaved so. "Need I?" he shouted, "must I? No one has been sentenced, no one has gone to the mines in my stead—the servant died of his illness. And I have paid in

torment for the blood that I shed. And they will neither believe my word nor evidence, Need I speak. Need I? Spare but my wife and children, and for the blood poured forth I will readily go on suffering all my life. Can I in justice overwhelm them in my ruin? Are we not making a mistake? Is it the right that we propose to do? Yes, and will people recognise it, appreciate it, honour it? "

"My God," thought I, "that he should be thinking of others esteem at a crisis like this! I felt so sorry for him that I would gladly have shared his lot, if that would have lightened his burden. He was distraught, I saw, and beside himself. I now not only knew by reasoning, but realized with the living sympathy of the heart and imagination what the step to be taken would cost him and I was horror-stricken.

" Decide my fate, " he said again.

I could not speak aloud, but I whispered unfalteringly:

"Go, and make it known." I took from the table the Gospels in the Russian, and pointed to John Ch. XII, Verse 24.

" Verily, verily, I say unto you, except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit." I had been reading that very verse just before he came in. He read it.

" It is true," he said, smiling bitterly; and, after a pause " Yes, you meet terrible things in these books. It is not difficult to bring them to a man's notice. And who wrote them? Surely not men? "

" The Holy Spirit wrote them. "

" Oh, it is easy to talk, " and he smiled again, a smile now almost of hatred.

I took the book again, turned up another passage, and pointed to Hebrews Ch. X. Verse 31. He read out.

" It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God; " and then, trembling with agitation, he took and flung the book from him.

" That is a terrible Verse. There is no denying you can pick out fitting ones."

He rose. 'Well, Goodbye, perhaps I shan't come again. We shall meet in heaven. So, fourteen years ago I fell into the hands of the living God—that is the meaning of it. To-morrow I shall pray those hands to release me."

I longed to take him in my arms and kiss him, but I did not dare, so distorted were his features, so tragic his eyes. He went out and my one thought was "Whither?"

I flung myself down on my knees before the ikon, and weeping, prayed for him to the Holy Mother of God, our ready intercessor and our ever present aid. I had knelt thus in tears for half an hour, when to my amazement, near midnight as it was, the door opened and he came in again.

"Where have you been?" I asked.

"I" * I think I left something here * * * my handkerchief perhaps. Well, even if I have left nothing, let me stay awhile."

He took a chair, and I stood over him.

"Sit down too," he said. I sat down.

For a couple of minutes he sat looking intently at me, and then he suddenly smiled (I remembered that afterwards), rose, embraced me with fervour and kissed me. "Bear in mind," he said, "how I came to thee a second time to-night. Don't forget that." It was the first time that he had addressed me by the intimate, "thou" or "thee." He left me, and I said to myself, "To-morrow he will do it." And so it came to pass. I had not known that momentous evening that the morrow was his birthday. I had not been out for the last few days, and had therefore met no one who might have told me.

On his birthday every year he kept open house for the whole town, and on this occasion every one was there as usual. After dinner he stood out in the middle of the room with a paper in his hand, a formal deposition to his official superior. And with his chief there in the room, he read the deposition aloud to the assembled guests. It contained a full and detailed account of the crime he had committed.

"I made myself an outcast from men but God has visited me," he read in conclusion, "and I want to take my punishment."

Then he brought out and placed on the table all the things he had been keeping for fourteen years that he thought would prove his guilt. There were the gold ornaments of the deceased that he had stolen to avert suspicion from himself, her cross, and a locket containing a portrait of her betrothed which he had taken from her neck, a note-book, and lastly, two letters, one from her betrothed to say that he would soon be with her, the other her unfinished answer which she had left on her table to close and send off the next day. Why had he taken these two letters? And why had he kept them for fourteen years instead of destroying them as evidence of his guilt?

His confession amazed and horrified his hearers, but, one and all, they refused to believe it. They listened with the intense curiosity aroused by the pathological, and within a few days it was the accepted decision in every household that the poor man was mad. His official superiors and the legal authorities had to take cognizance of his confession, but they too, soon dropped the case. The ornaments and the letters occasioned surprise, but they came to the decision that even if the latter were proved genuine no final charge could be based on them. As for the former, she might have given them to him as a trusted friend to take care of for her. I heard that friends and relatives of the deceased afterwards certified beyond all possible doubt the genuineness of the proofs produced; but the case was not destined to receive further investigation.

Five days later, it became known that the sufferer was dangerously ill. I can't say what the illness was. It was given out as heart disease, but it was common knowledge that certain doctors, called in by his wife to examine his mental condition, had, in consultation, diagnos-

ed it as insanity. I gave nothing away, though people flocked to question me. But when I tried to see him there was opposition, especially on the part of his wife.

"It is you who have done for him. He has always been depressed, but last year people noticed how strangely agitated he was and what queer things he did, and then you came on the top of all and have ruined him. You egged him on; he was never away from you the whole of last month."

Indeed, not only his wife, but the whole town, rounded on me with the accusation that it was all my doing. I made no answer, and inwardly rejoiced that I had seen the mercy of God towards the penitent, who had freely faced the penalty of his crime. I refused absolutely to believe he was insane.

In the end, they let me see him, for he insisted on saying goodbye to me. I saw at once, when I went in, that not only his days, but his hours, were numbered. He was weak and pallid, his hands shook, and he breathed with difficulty, but his expression was loving and radiant.

"It is finished," he said, "I have been longing to see you. Why didn't you come?"

I did not tell him that I had not been admitted. "God in His mercy is calling me to Himself. I know I am dying, but joy and peace are mine for the first time after all these years. No sooner had I done what I had to do than I felt heaven in my heart. Now I am free to love my children and caress them. My story finds no credence. No one, neither my wife, nor the judges believe it, and my children will never believe it either. I see in this the mercy of God towards my children, for I shall die without a stain on our name. Now I have a foretaste of heaven, and my soul rejoices * * I have done my duty."

Struggling for breath he could say no more, but I felt the warm pressure of his hand and the fervour of his gaze.

My visit was cut short by his wife's continual peeping in upon us, but he managed to whisper to me:

"Do you remember how I returned to you that second time at midnight? I told you to remember. Do you know what I returned to do? I came to kill you!" His words made me shiver.

"I went out into the darkness and tramped the streets wrestling with myself. Suddenly I hated you uncontainedly. "He alone is between me and freedom; he is my sole judge; his knowledge of the facts is that alone which compels me to face my punishment." It was not that I was afraid of your playing the informer (I never even thought of that), but my feeling was: "How can I look him in the face if I do not inform against myself?" It would have made no difference if you had been at the other end of the earth, so long as you were above ground. I could not bear to think that you were alive, aware of the facts, and judging me. I hated you as if you were the guilty cause of all my trouble. I returned to you then, remembering that there was a dagger lying on your table. I sat down, asked you to be seated; and for a whole minute I deliberated. Of course if I had murdered you I should have been ruined by that alone even if I said nothing about my former crime. But I was not thinking of that at all, I didn't want to. I was obsessed by my hatred for you and by the overwhelming desire to revenge myself on you for everything. God vanquished the devil in my heart, but, let me tell you, you were never nearer death."

A week later he died, and the whole town followed his body to the cemetery, where a high ecclesiastical dignitary made a moving oration over his grave. Universal sympathy had been aroused by the terrible illness that had cut short his days. But after the funeral the whole town was down on me, and people shut their doors against me. Nevertheless, increasing numbers began to credit his story, and to come with eager curiosity and satisfaction to find

out what I could tell them—for dear to man's heart is the fall from grace of the righteous. I refused to enlighten them.

Very shortly after this I left the town for good, and within five months I entered, by the grace of God, upon this sure highway, praising the unseen hand that so unmistakably had guided me to it. And to this day I remember in my prayers, Michael, the servant of God, who endured so great suffering.

REVIEWS.

Socialism and Character.—*By Henry Sturt, M.A., Lecturer in the University of Wales.*

We find in the Preface that this work has been published partly at the expense of the Tulloch and Barr publishing fund, instituted as a memorial of William Tulloch and Dr. Hugh Barr, members of the Fabian Society, who lost their lives in the Great War. Any book published under the auspices of the Fabian Society commands our respect, for we have come to believe that it will always touch the wound in our society where it is most raw and which demands immediate and careful attention: and especially such a book as this dedicated to the memory of two members of the society, who gave up their lives for the cause of Right and Justice.

The book divides itself into two parts, one showing how human character will be improved by Socialism, and the other what the institutions of Socialism will be.

The first part appeals to us more than the second. For since the days of Aristotle, everybody has been labouring under the impression that the chief obstacle to an equitable distribution of wealth is the reluctance of the rich to surrender their wealth motived as they are by the instincts of property and command. That impression, in the author's opinion, is but too true. Therefore he recommends a regulation of those possessive and dominative instincts—in the past they have been guided by social control and State legislation—Socialism will only carry the regulation a stage further onward. The author calls for a suppression of man's tyranny over woman. The problem of the East is the other way about—but Mr. Sturt never came to India, it seems.

The author goes on to show how the Socialist State by introducing reforms into our land-system, Public Debt,

organisation, capitalism, and inheritance of property, without checking the private incentive to thrift, industry and special industrial ability, will conduce to a more abundant production of wealth than is possible under an individualist community. Of course under the new *regime*, the sole principle of distribution is that the share of the citizen should be proportional to the public service which he renders.

Under Socialism, children will be given maintenance allowances by the State; regulation of population will be done by women; the anti-social influences will be checked by public authority; admission of women to the full status of citizenship will promote the reform of morals by means of legislation and prevent violent revolution and war. Everybody will live in self-respect and conduct a life of healthy civic activity. Affections will extend beyond the limits of the family and the nation, though private affections will be improved. The intellectual level of the community will be raised, original thinking will be stimulated, and the citizens will have it in their power to be happy. The author even predicts momentous changes in the public taste.

We admire the author's simple faith in Socialism which is apparently a religion to him. It is something more than a panacea for all kinds of human ills to him. It is a pity that we read a few essays of Balfour before we got a copy of this book. But we have drawn immense inspiration from the author's idealism which breaks out in all glory through his constant use of the future tense. We are quite sure that the book will be a 'hot' favourite with those young minds who have faith in the future, and we hope that it will insinuate itself into the good graces of many others who refuse to be licked into cynicism by such pseudo-scientific statements as the immutability of human nature.

D. P. M.

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SIR RABINDRA NATH TAGORE.

INDIAN EDUCATION IN THE FIFTH CENTURY A.D.

(As described by Fa-Hien.)

The present paper will give an account of an early period of Indian Education not on the basis of the materials and indirect allusions scattered through the Indian sacred texts, but from the record of an eye witness who wrote from his first-hand observation of the working of the educational institutions then flourishing at the chief centres of Buddhist learning in India. Such an account would be doubly interesting and trust-worthy when it proceeds from an eye witness who is a foreigner. We have no means of positively ascertaining how far the educational conditions referred to in the sacred texts were in actual existence, for the sacred texts are naturally more concerned with the exposition of the *ideal* conditions, precepts, and maxims, with what *ought* to be than with what *is*. The evidence of Fa-Hien is, therefore, all the more valuable, because, as picturing the existing conditions and realities, it helps us to obtain a confirmation of the sacred evidence which, by itself, cannot lead to definite and positive conclusions.

We must, however, consider the evidence of Fa-Hien in its proper setting. The very fact of the pilgrimage of Chinese scholars like Fa-Hien or Hiuen Tsang to India testifies to the tribute paid by China to the sovereignty of Indian thought and culture which made its influence felt beyond the bounds of India itself in distant countries which might be well regarded as then constituting a sort of a Greater India. India was in those days the holy land of China and other countries, teeming with centres of Buddhist faith and learning to which the devout youth of the foreign countries were flocking for their instruction, to return home later as fully equipped and trained missionaries. Fa-Hien, or, for the matter of that, Hiuen Tsang, or I-Tsing were but individual members of glorious bands of missionaries who during the period of well-nigh ten centuries (from Kanishka to Dharmapala) came to India on religious and literary pilgrimage to drink at the very fountains of the culture

they professed. Fa-Hien himself was only one of a company of pilgrims who embarked upon a common holy mission. We read in his *Travels* [Legge's ed., p. 9]; "Deploring the mutilated and imperfect state of the collection of the Books of Discipline . . . he entered into an engagement with Hwuy—King, Jao-Ching, Hwuy-Ying, and Hwuy-Wei, that they should go to India and seek for the Disciplinary Rules [1]." This passage also defines the objects of the mission. They were to collect in India the Vinaya texts for the purposes of the Buddhist Sanghas of China. We are also to understand from this the limitations of the evidence of Fa-Hien who confines his observations only to that aspect of Indian thought and life which are associated with Buddhism. But within this limited range of enquiry, the information given by Fa-Hien is refreshingly realistic, positive, and concrete, being drawn from his first-hand observation and personal experience of actually existing conditions. What is thus lost in the scope of his evidence is amply compensated by its greater objectivity and trustworthiness.

Fa-Hien's evidence thus brings us into touch with Buddhist India, the chief centres of her learning, the actual working of its institutions, their internal conditions, rules and regulations.

Buddhist India in Fa-Hien's time embraced a large area, extending from Udyana on the North Western frontiers to Tamalipti on the East and was noted for the abundance of its monasteries, those strongholds and distributing centres of Buddhist culture which enabled it to maintain its hold upon the country, and helped to spread it evenly among the different parts thereof. In Udyana (modern Swat) alone where Buddhism was "very flourishing," Fa-Hien noticed no less than 500 Sangharamas or monasteries peopled by monks of the Hinayana School (p. 28). In Pe-too or the Punjab also, he found Buddhism very flourishing and represented by both its schools, Mahayana and Hinayana (p. 41). From this place as

1. Even on his way Fa-Hien came across another fellow-pilgrim to India, "a Tartar who was an earnest follower of the Law" and another band of five pilgrims who had preceded him on the same journey [pp 21 and 11].

he travelled South East he passed "by a succession of very many monasteries, with a multitude of monks who might be counted by myriads" (p. 42) until he came to Mathura. Thence, following the course of the Yamuna river, he found, on both banks of the river, "twenty monasteries which might contain 3,000 monks;" for there "the Law of Buddha was very flourishing." Indeed, "everywhere, from the Sandy Desert, in all the countries of India, the Kings had been firm believers in that Law" (p. 42).

But Buddhism in Fa-Hien's time had not merely an "extensive" but also an "intensive" growth. He mentions the eighteen schools of Buddhism of which "each one has the views and decisions of its own master" (p. 98), while he names only three of them, *viz.*, the Mahasanghika, the Sabbatthivada (*ib.*) and the Mahisasaka (p. 111).

We shall now give Fa-Hien's accounts of the individual monasteries he himself visited in the course of his travels.

Fa-Hien does not mention any monasteries in Taksasila which figures so largely in the Buddhist Literature as a centre of learning (p. 32).

Purusapura (Peshawar) had a monastery where "there may be more than 700 monks" (p. 35).

In the city of He-lo (Hidda, West of Peshawar) was a Vihara where the flat-bone of Buddha's skull is said to have been deposited which is regularly worshipped with offerings by the King of the country, his attendants and the chiefs of the Vaisyas. Near the city of Nagara was the Buddha's pewter-staff in a Vihara and Sanghati or his robe in another, while at the place where the Buddha shaved off his hair and clipt his nails was another Vihara with more than 700 monks (pp. 36-40).

The next individual monasteries mentioned are those of Sankasya. One of these had 1000 monks and nuns "who all receive their food from the common store and pursue their studies, some of Mahayana, and some of the Hinayana" (p. 52). Another was called "The Great Heap." There was a third monastery "containing perhaps 600 or 700 monks" (p. 53).

"The city of Kanya Kubja lying along the Ganges" had two monasteries "the inmates of which are students of the Hinayana" (p. 54).

The city of Sravasti was famous for the Jetavana Vihara, originally of seven storeys, which the kings and people of the countries around vied with one another in decorating, and built in the centre of a large park. "Here Buddha lived for a longer time than at any other place," "for twenty-five years," "preaching his Law and converting men." Fa-Hien saw the monastery in a flourishing condition with a crowd of monks coming out to greet him and expressing their surprise [1] that "men of a border country should be able to come here in search of the Law," and saying to one another: "During all the time that we, preceptors and monks, have succeeded to one another, we have never seen men of Han, followers of our system, arrive here." Indeed, this ideal succession of preceptors and monks in the Jetavana monastery carried on its history for nearly 1,000 years up to the time of this visit of Fa-Hien!

Sravasti in earlier days seems to have been a university town. Round the Jetavana Vihara as the centre there were originally no less than 98 monasteries. Of these Fa-Hien found only a few existing. One was the Vihara originally built by mother Vaisakha (pp. 55-63).

Kusanagara where the Buddha died was the seat of several monasteries seen by Fa-Hien.

In the city of Vaisali, Fa-Hien saw the vihara which the courtesan Ambapali built in honour of Buddha "now standing as it was at first" (p. 72).

One of the most prominent centres of Buddhist learning in Fa-Hien's time was Pataliputra where he saw the "Mauryan royal palace and halls" "exist now as of old" (p. 77). There were in the city one Mahayana monastery "very grand and beautiful" and another Hinayana one, the two together containing six or seven hundred monks. "The rules of demeanour and the scholastic arrangements in them

1. A similar surprise was expressed earlier by the monks of some of the Punjab monasteries who said "How is it that these men from a border-land should have learned to become monks, and come for the sake of our doctrines from such a distance in search of the Law of Buddha?" (p. 42.)

are worthy of observation. Shamans of the highest virtue from all quarters, and students, inquirers wishing to find out truth and the grounds of it, all resort to these monasteries." This shows that besides offering elementary instruction to the younger monks and novices, these monasteries served as centres of advanced instruction for the maturer monks. This was due to their having as their residents several far-famed teachers. One of these was "a great Brahman, named Radhasami, a Professor of the Mahayana, of clear discernment, and much wisdom, who understood everything, living by himself in spotless purity. He might be more than fifty years old, and all the Kingdom looked up to him," including the King who "served him as his teacher." "By means of this one man, the Law of Buddha was widely made known" (p. 78). The other distinguished teacher seen by Fa-Hien was also a Brahman Buddhist named Manjusri "whom the shamans of greatest virtue in the Kingdom, and the Mahayana Bhiksus honour and look up to" (p. 79).

At Rajagriha Fa-Hien found still existing as of old the Vihara originally built for the Buddha and his 1250 disciples by Jivaka (p. 82). Outside the city the traveller found "the Karanda Bamboo garden where the old Vihara (the gift of Bimbisara to the Buddha) is still in existence with a company of monks who keep (it) swept and (its grounds) watered" (p. 84).

At Gaya, "at the place where Buddha attained to perfect wisdom," Fa-Hien found "three monasteries, in all of which there are monks residing" (p. 89). Fa-Hien praised the efficiency of these institutions. "The disciplinary rules are strictly observed by them. The laws regulating their demeanour in sitting, rising, and entering when the others are assembled, are those which have been practised by all the saints since Buddha was in the world down to the present day" (p. 89).

From Gaya, retracing his steps towards Pataliputra along the course of the Ganges, "he found a vihara named the Wilderness—a place where Buddha had dwelt, and where there are monks now" (p. 94).

Pursuing the same course, he came to Benares and "found the vihara in the park of 'the Risis Deer-Wild'" (p. 94), where there were two other monasteries in both of which he found monks residing (p. 96).

Proceeding onwards he found at Kausambi the Ghochiravana (Ghoshitarama) vihara where Buddha formerly resided, still existing as of old, with "a company of monks there, most of whom are students of the Hinayana" *(ib.)* and, at a distance from it, another monastery "which may contain more than 100 monks" *(ib.)*

At Champa, the viharas of olden times had still monks residing in them (p. 100).

Tamalipti, the last place visited by Fa-Hien, was a flourishing seat of Buddhism with 22 monasteries, at all of which there are monks residing" *(ib.)*

Life in these monasteries was governed by regulations which follow the lines laid down in the Vinaya.

The monasteries were maintained by the endowments of the laity including Kings and merchant-princes, "the heads of the Vaisyas." They "built viharas for the priests and endowed them with fields, houses, gardens, and orchards, along with the resident populations and their cattle." These grants were "engraved on plates of metal" and were "handed down from King to King without any one daring to annul them" (p. 43). The gifts of the laity also included other necessaries such as food for instance. "When the Kings make their offerings to a community of monks, they take off their royal caps, and along with their relatives and ministers, supply them with food with their own hands." With reference to another monastery we read thus of the gifts of the laity: "The families of their people around supply the societies of these monks with an abundant sufficiency of what they require, so that there is no lack or stint" (p. 89). The usual season for the making of these gifts was "a month after the annual season of rest" (*i.e.*, vassa) when "the families which are looking out for blessing stimulate one another to make offerings to the monks and send round to them the liquid food which may be taken

out of the ordinary hours" (p. 45). In another place (p. 47) Fa-Hien refers to "the annual tribute (from the harvest)" paid to the monks and the gifts of "clothes and such other articles as the monks require for use" which they afterwards share among themselves. The donors of these gifts included not merely "the heads of the Vaisyas," but also Brahmans (*ib.*)

"The regular business of the monks is to perform acts of meritorious virtue, to recite their Sutras and sit rapt in meditation" (p. 44).

Even in Fa-Hien's time, the time honoured Brahmanical system of oral tradition was still obtaining as the method of instruction even among Buddhists. The subjects of study were not yet reduced to writing. "In the various Kingdoms of North India he had found one master transmitting orally the rules to another, but no written copies which he could transcribe" (p. 98). This was a great disappointment to the traveller who had set out on his travel with the object of finding copies of the Vinaya, as we have already seen. Out of the numerous monasteries he had visited, it was only in two that his object was realised. Manuscripts of sacred texts which he could copy were found in the Mahayana monastery at Pataliputra and in the monasteries in Tamalipti. Thus oral instruction was the only educational method followed in the north, while the rule was relaxed in the east where the aid of written literature to education was recognised.

The MSS. copied out by Fa-Hien give us some idea of the works of Buddhist literature which were in request in China and also of the usual subjects of study of the monks in India, who do not seem to have any connection with secular subjects. The sacred texts copied out by Fa-Hien comprised the following: (1) The Vinaya containing the Maha Sanghika rules promulgated at the time of the Buddha. "This copy of the rules is the most complete with the fullest explanations" (p. 99); (2) The Sarvastivada rules in six or seven thousand gathas; (3) A sutra of 2500 gathas; (4) one Chapter of the Parinirvana Vaipulya Sutra of about 5000 gathas; and (5) The Mahasan-

ghika Abhidharma. In the monastery at Tamalipti Fa-Hien 'wrote out his sutras' (p. 100).

It is interesting to note that the study of Sanskrit was continued in these Buddist monasteries. At the Pataliputra monastery Fa-Hien stayed for 3 years "learning Sanskrit books and the Sanskrit speech and writing out the Vinaya rules" (p. 99).

We may now turn to the other features of monastic life as observed by Fa-Hien. Monasteries had topes erected in honour of the sacred characters in the history of Buddhism. such as Sariputra, Maha-Maudgalyayana and Ananda to whom the full-fledged monks usually made offerings, the Sramaneras making their offerings to Rahula. The Bhiksunis usually made their offerings at the tope of Ananda "because it was he who requested the world-honoured one to allow females to quit their families and become nuns" (p. 45). Topes were also erected to sacred texts like the Abhidharma, the Vinaya, and the Sutras, the professors of each of these subjects making offerings to the tope connected with it (p. 46). The students of Mahayana "present offerings to the Prajna-Paramita, to Manjusri and to Kwan-she-yin (=Avalokitesvara)." Thus every monastery, whether Hinayana or Mahayana, was equipped with a sort of a chapel where the inmates offered their worship.

These hostels of the monks were authorised to receive guests. The manner of their reception is thus described: "When stranger monks arrive, the old residents meet and receive them, carry for them their clothes and alms-bowl, give them water to wash their feet, oil with which to anoint them, and the liquid food permitted out of the regular hours (Cf. Vinaya regulations cited above). When the stranger has enjoyed a very brief rest, they further ask the number of years that he has been a monk, after which he receives a sleeping apartment with its appurtenances, according to his regular order, and everything is done for him which the rules prescribe" (p. 44). The guests were to be entertained ordinarily for three days only. This was the rule noticed by Fa-Hien in the Udyana monasteries: "when stranger Bhiksus arrive at one

of them, their wants are supplied for three days, after which they are told to find a resting place for themselves" (p. 29).

Besides individual study and meditation, the monks had always to meet together in the common room or hall of the monastery for purposes of religious discussion. "All the monks come together in a great assembly and preach the Law" observes Fa-Hien (p. 45).

Lastly, it is to be observed from Fa-Hien's evidence that the Buddhist alone had not the monopoly of leading the people. There were many other sects and systems of thought hardly less influential in the country than the Buddhists. In the Middle Kingdom alone, Fa-Hien noticed no less than "96 sorts of views, 'erroneous' and different from Buddhism, all of which recognise this world and the future world (and the connection between them). Each has its multitude of followers, and they all beg their food; only they do not carry the alms-bowl." These non-Buddhistic monkish communities and their followers were well-known for their charity and philanthropy, "setting up on the road-side houses of charity where rooms, couches, beds, and food and drink are supplied to travellers and also to monks, coming and going as guests, the only difference being in the time for which those parties remain" (p. 62). Besides these Brahmanical sects of ascetics, Fa-Hien observed "companies of the followers of Devadatta" as "still existing." It may be noted that the Middle Kingdom where these numerous non-Buddhistic communities flourished was, in Fa-Hien's time, a part of the Gupta Empire which, being officially orthodox Hindu, gave a great impetus to the revival of the Brahmanical religion and culture. The revival was most marked in Magadha, the metropolitan province of the Gupta Empire, where, according to Fa-Hien, "the inhabitants are rich and prosperous and vie with one another in the practice of benevolence and righteousness. . . The heads of the Vaisya families establish in the cities ('in all the other Kingdoms as well') houses for dispensing charity and medicines. All the poor and destitute in the country, orphans, widowers, and childless men, maimed people and cripples, and all who are

diseased, go to those houses, and are provided with every kind of help, and doctors examine their diseases. They get the food and medicines which their cases require, and are made to feel at ease and when they are better, they go away of themselves" (p. 79). This statement demonstrates that Brahmanism was as much known for its secular charities as Buddhism: it founded temples for the direct worship of God equally with the institutions for the relief of human suffering. Positivism was not foreign to the creed of Brahmanism which could thus recognise the duty of serving man as a mode of serving God!

A few other points of interest may be noted in conclusion in connexion with Fa-Hien's evidence. The duration of his travels in India was for 15 years from 399 to 414 A. D. "After Fa-Hien set out from Chang-gan it took him six years to reach Central India; stoppages there extended over (other) six years; and on his return it took him three years to reach Tsing-chow" (p. 116). This shows that the educational conditions of India observed and recorded by Fa-Hien in the fifth century A.D. had been prevailing in the country in still earlier times. There is unfortunately no positive evidence available like Fa-Hien's which may enable us to trace the origin and growth of these historical monasteries of Buddhism which, already in Fa-Hien's time, and in the times anterior to him, had become such important and flourishing centres of Buddhist education and learning where was conserved all that was best and typical in Buddhist thought and life. The reputation of these schools, due undoubtedly to their real worth, travelled far beyond the limits of India and caused a large movement of foreign scholars towards them for their instruction, which continued steadily for nearly ten centuries. A profound and abiding regard for the learning and culture of India was needed to feed and sustain such a long continued movement. Indeed, the enthusiasm for Indian wisdom was so intense, the passion for a direct contact with its seats was so strong, that it defied the physical dangers and difficulties which lay so amply in the way of its realisation. An account of these dangers and difficulties is best given in

the words of Fa-Hien himself: "when I look back on what I have gone through, my heart is involuntarily moved, and the perspiration flows forth. That I encountered danger and trod the most perilous places without thinking of or sparing myself, was because I had a definite aim and thought of nothing but to do my best in my simplicity and straightforwardness. Thus it was that I exposed my life where death seemed inevitable if I might accomplish but a ten thousandth part of what I hoped" (p. 117). Fa-Hien speaks here as the representative and spokesman of bands of scholars in whom the spirit triumphed over matter, the soul over sense, whose religious zeal and thirst for knowledge no earthly difficulty or physical risk could conquer. Truly remarked the old Chinese editor of Fa-Hien's Travels: "Henceforth I know that the influence of sincerity finds no obstacle, however great, which it does not overcome, and that force of will does not fail to accomplish whatever service it undertakes" (p. 118). It is again to be noted that actual experience, the facts of Indian life and learning, did not run short of the ideal expectations or disappoint the most extravagant hopes that prompted the pilgrimage of these foreign scholars. Fa-Hien's own impressions and appreciations on the subject at the conclusion of his tour are thus expressed by the compiler of his narrative: "The countries through which he passed were a few under thirty. From the sandy desert westwards on to India, the beauty of the dignified demeanour of the monkhood and of the transforming influence of the Law was beyond the power of language fully to describe; and reflecting how our masters, had not heard any complete account of them, he therefore went on without regarding his own poor life, or the dangers to be encountered on the sea upon his return, thus incurring hardships and difficulties in a double form. He was fortunate enough to receive help and protection in his perils; and therefore he wrote out an account of his experiences that worthy readers might share with him in what he had heard and said" (p. 116). Such a first hand report on Indian Education would only add to the number of pilgrims anxious to visit its seats.

No wonder that Fa-Hien was the pioneer of a growing and glorious band of Chinese pilgrims immortalised by the other two names of Hiuen-Tsang and I-Tsing whose visits to India in search of her learning in defiance of the dangers and privations besetting the paths of travel in those days across deserts, and over snowy heights, through inhospitable and sometimes hostile, natural, and human conditions, constitute the most convincing testimony to the supremacy of India in the ancient world of culture.

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI.

13

THE CULTURAL VALUE OF URDU.

It is a time when educational thought is taking a new turn in India. Schemes of education with a national bias are in the air, the importance of indigenous literature has been realised, the useless nervous wear and tear entailed in education through a foreign language has been felt and the demand for a common language for India is already insistent. Public opinion seems to favour the proposal that in order to put things right Urdu or "Khari Boli," as some people would like to call it, should form the medium of instruction in India. But, on the other hand, there are men who do not hold this opinion. They are labouring under the erroneous idea that Urdu is too poor to express a large variety of thought, that Urdu literature is very limited in its scope and that it has little cultural value.

To these men I shall say what Sir Thomas More once said of English: "To pretend that our language is barbarous is but a fantasy. For so is, as every learned man knoweth, every strange language to other. And if they would call it barren of words, there is no doubt, but it is plenteous enough to express our minds in any thing whereof one man hath used to speak with another."

In the case of Urdu literature, as in the case of any other literature, poetry preceded prose. Even when Urdu poetry was the hobby of the literary minds of Hindustan and Urdu was practically recognised as a fit instrument for poetical thought all the business of life was carried on through Persian. Even the great makers of Urdu like Mir Taqi and Saiyid Insha, who prided themselves on their mastery of the Urdu language, did not use it in their prose writings. So great is the force of custom!

It must have been with some diffidence that pioneers entered the field of Urdu prose and, to their astonishment, discovered a world of potentialities. Experience soon made it clear to them that for all practical purposes Urdu was no less

serviceable than Persian and the need for economy of expression compelled them to take advantage of this discovery. They abandoned Persian, the French of the East, in favour of Urdu, for the latter saved them the trouble taken and the time spent in acquiring a foreign tongue. This natural transition itself speaks for Urdu with some force.

Those who doubt the cultural value of Urdu seem to pay too exclusive an attention to its origin and age. As a general rule a language has its roots somewhere in the pre-civilisation stage of some race. The more the race advances in civilisation the more refined is the language. Generally, therefore, the age of a language counts for much. But not so with Urdu. Born of such cultured parents as Brij Bhasha and Persian and brought up in the lap of civilisation Urdu occupies a unique position in the languages of the world. It is an outcome of the close contact of several races perfectly civilised in their own way. At no time, therefore, was Urdu a barbarous language. Even the earliest Urdu compositions are not characterised by that crudeness of thought or clumsiness of expression which mark the early periods of other languages. Urdu has got, as its birthright, the flow, the sweetness, the sobriety and the expressiveness characteristic of Persian and Brij Bhasha, qualities so rare in any infant language.

Urdu, it is generally alleged, was originally the language used by the soldiers of the Mughal camp in their conversation with men of the bazar. This may lead one to suspect that Urdu has a tinge of vulgarity in it. But a glance at the history of our literature will show that the Urdu we have inherited sprang up at the royal courts and was nurtured by men learned in oriental classics, by poets and nobles of the court and by the Kings themselves. The constant planing and polishing of Urdu by men distinguished for taste and learning is a story that will take a long time to tell.

In spite of an unfortunate cliquish spirit pervading our literary atmosphere for some time past, which has retarded the rapid progress of Urdu, it can he said without hesitation that Urdu has outgrown its age. If a man of extraordinary

patience were to devote himself to drawing up a list of all the books in Urdu the list would, I am sure, be a surprise to a man standing outside the pale of Urdu literature. There is hardly any variety of thought which Urdu literature does not represent. And what more convincing proof could there be of the expressiveness and plasticity of our language!

Urdu, however, is not so rich in literature as some of the western languages. But this deficiency is more than made up by the amount of culture it imparts to our minds. Our mentality is so different from that of the people of the West that most of us hardly ever get into the spirit of the Western writers. And unless we are able to do this our study of literature is a mere pastime. What we can get at as a result of hard and sustained labour of many long and precious years is only the surface meaning of the text, but the feelings underlying it and the spirit pervading it often remain a secret to us.

And nowhere is this more true than in poetry which stands foremost in the rank of "cultural subjects." A poet, it has been well said, means more than he says. Suggestiveness is, indeed, the soul of poetry. But suggestiveness depends on the innumerable associations of words and expressions. It is very difficult for a foreigner to have all these in his mind and still more difficult is the task of recalling only the right ones. Then, the finer the feelings that foreign poetry is intended to touch the more enigmatic does it become to us. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to say that what is commonplace in Urdu is a better source of culture for us than what is extraordinary in a foreign language. And what more inspiring sources of culture could there be than the intense pathos of Mir's poetry, the empyrean flights of Ghalib's imagination and the ennobling and exalting spirit pervading the "Marsiyas" of Anis!

Marsiya generally means an elegy but in Urdu literature this term is mostly applied to a kind of epic poetry that has developed round the most thrilling event in the history of Islam, the martyrdom of Husain at Karbala. It was, perhaps

the most tragic drama ever staged in the world's theatre. Husain represents suffering for the ideal. To those who have studied the character of this extraordinary man the very word Husain is symbolic of all that is best and noblest in man. With a theme at once so noble and so inspiring the "marsiya" writers have been able to work wonders in the world of epic poetry. The greatest master of Urdu epic was undoubtedly Anis and the day will come, sooner or later, when, in the world's literature Anis will be given a place if not higher at least as high as Homer and Firdausi.

Urdu is the source of culture in another way too. Culture is, I believe, not so much an outcome of mere study of books as a result of active mental exertion. Urdu offers an immense scope for literary criticism, and Urdu philology and Urdu literary history are very wide fields for research. These literary activities may appear as vain pursuits to commercial minds yet their cultural value cannot be over-estimated.

SYED MASUD HASAN RIZAVI.

A SPECIMEN TRANSLATION FROM MEER ANEES.

Before I proceed to subjoin the specimen translation from Meer Anees, let me say a few words by way of preliminary remarks. There is a unanimity of opinion among Eastern critics that Meer Anees was the brilliant sun of Urdu poetry, and for elegance and simplicity of language, for the wonderful beauty of the natural scenery which he so faithfully depicts, and for the sweetness of his poetical exaggerations, he takes rank along with the greatest masters of verse, in all the languages of the world. Such being the case, it is a matter of deep regret that no English translation of any portion of his verse has ever been published for, or known to, the English speaking or English-knowing races of the world. This drawback has been very keenly felt by all sensible persons who know both the English and the Urdu tongues. Something like eighteen years ago, I myself felt this want very much and then set about translating into English verse some stanzas from Meer Anees which I then thought I would publish as a little manual entitling it 'Morning Scenes from Meer Anees'. I in fact translated some stanzas from the morning scene in two '*Marsiahs*' (or elegiac odes) which have never seen the light of publication up to this moment, and which I now offer to the readers of the Lucknow University Journal, for their kind consideration and appreciation. I have thought it proper to append the original Urdu along with my translation for the convenience of those readers who happen to know Urdu as well. I have copied the Urdu text from the Newul Kishore edition of Meer Anees's *Marsiahs*, so I cannot vouch for its accuracy. I had all along been under the impression that I was the first Urdu-knowing translator of Meer Anees's verse into English poetry. But I cannot help feeling gratified that before I could sufficiently shake off my lethargy and get some portion of my translation from Meer Anees printed, a certain Hindu gentleman whom I have not the pleasure of knowing Mr. Anand Narain Mulla, a graduate of very deep learning,

has published his translations of Meer Anees which are undoubtedly of the finest quality. I specially want to draw the attention of the readers of the Journal to the exceedingly fine quality and character of Mr. Mulla's translation. One of the greatest merits of a translation in any language, in my humble opinion, lies in this that the translation should *not* appear as a translation but rather as a piece of original composition. And this merit is pre-eminently possessed by the famous English translation of Fitzgerald from Omar Khyyam's Persian. But Fitzgerald lacks one great thing which Mr. Mulla possesses, *viz.*, absolute faithfulness to the original, and accuracy of language in executing the translation. There is a peculiar poetical charm in his English rendering that defies at least my power of clear description though not of clear perception. I think, with these few words of appreciation of the work done by Mr. Anand Narain Mulla, in the field of Meer Anees's quatrains or Rubáiyát, I may draw the reader's attention to the specimen translation from Meer Anees, of the opening stanzas of a famous *marsiah* by him.

I.

When passed the stage of Night, the caravan of Dawn,
The signal of the morning, upon the horizon shone,
The stars of Morn began from the sky to march away,
Then rose aloft the call to prayers at break of day,
And disappeared from view, the sable face of Night,
Forthwith became the world, the rising place of light.

I.

طے کر چکا جو منزل شب کاروان صبح
ہونے لگا اُفق پہ ہویدانشان صبح
گردوں سے کوچ کرنے لگے اختران صبح
ہر سو ہوئی بلند صدائے اذان صبح
پنہان نظر سے رخ شب تار ہوگیا
عالم تمام مطلع انوار ہو گیا

II.

When from his face, the Sun, threw off the veil of Night,
The gates of Night were

II.

خورشید نے جو رخ سے اُٹھایا نقاب شب
در کھل گیا سحر کا ہوا بند باب شب

closed, oped forth the doors of light,

Each individual star's nightly accounts were spied,

The keeper of Morn's book, Night's ledger threw aside,

And in the sky the hue of the moon's face grew wan,

Then of the King of East and West the reign began.

III.

When Night's dismissal writ came 'neath the Sun's own seal,

The officers of Morn hied to their posts with zeal,

The writer of the Sky was summoned with his book,

Dispersed were all the troops of stars from every nook,

They all got separated by Morn, the stars in heaven,

The order to depart, to all the lights was given.

IV.

Suchwise the stars marched off, from heaven's flowery bowers,

As from the flower-beds, the gardener picks up flowers,

Moon's flower in spring-tide glow, came under Autumn's sway,

Fell withered, all the boughs and fruits of Milky Way,

انجم کی فرد فرد سے لیکر حساب شب

دفتر کشاے صبح نے اُلٹی کتاب شب

گردونہ رنگ چہرۂ مہتاب فق ہوا

سلطان غرب و شرق کا نظم و نسق ہوا

III.

پہونچا جو مُہر مہر سے فرمان عزل شب

گردونہ عاملان سحر کا ہوا نصب

منشئے آسمان مع دفتر ہوا طلب

بس جابجا سے اُٹھہ گئی انجم کی فوج سب

تا صبح فرد فرد میں بیگانگی ہوئی

برخاست کی چراغو نکو پروانگی ہوئی

IV.

یون گلشن فلک سے ستارے ہوے روان

چن لے چمن سے پھولونکو جسطرح باغبان

آئی بہار میں گل مہتاب پو خزان

مرجھا کے گرگئے ثمروشاخ کہکشان

Of its simoom-like touch, may the morning-breeze well boast,
For blighted were the buds of all the starry host,

دکھلائے طور یاں سحر نے سموم کے
نثر مردہ ہو کے رہگئے غنچے نجوم کے

V.

How grand! The sinking Moon! The break of glorious day!
In praise of God, the birds, in concert sing their lay.
How lovely! Zephyrs cool! How picturesque, dawning light!
They charm the eyes and fill the heart with true delight,
On Earth men feel bewitched, in heaven angels too,
All tongues declared the power of the Almighty God and True.

V.

جھٹپٹا وہ ماہتاب کا وہ صبح کا ظہور
یاد خدا میں زمزمہ پردازی طیور
وہ رونق اور وہ سرد ہوا وہ فضا وہ نور
خنکی ہو جس سے چشم کو اور قلب کو سرور
انسان زمین پہ محو ملک آسمان پر
جاری تھا ذکر قدرت حق ہر زبان پر

VI.

That ruddy glow of twilight! Those streaks of light and bands,
Trees laden with ripe fruits! Green meadows! Shining sands!
Those lustrous drops of dew like pearls on roses seem,
The skirts of mountain-tracts, with many a flower teem,
Like open musk-pods, flowers, the air with fragrance fill,

VI.

وہ سرخی شفق کی اُدھر چرخ پر بہار
وہ بار ور درخت وہ صحرا وہ سبزہ زار
شبنم کے وہ گلونے گہرہائے آبدار
پھولونسے سب بھرا ہوا دامان کوہسار
بانٹے کھلے ہوئے وہ گلونکی شمیم کے

Those gushes of the breeze, how balmy and how chill !

آتے تھے سرد سرد وہ جھوکے نسیم کے

VII.

VII.

Vied with the heaven itself Karbala's plain so bright,

نہی دشت کربلا کی زمین رشک آسمان

Presenting far and wide, a scene of moonlit night,

تہا دور دور تک شب مہتاب کا سمان

Like so many scattered stars, the twinkling atoms shone,

چہٹکے ہوئے ستارونکا ذرونہ تہا گمان

And like the Milky Way, the Euphrates flowed on,

نہر فرات بیچ مین تہی مثل کہکشان

Each tree looked fresh and green like Tree of Mount Sinai,

سر سبز جو درخت تہا وہ نخل طور تہا

E'en shades of desert-plants did with the sunlight vie.

صحرا کے ہر نہال کا سایہ بہی نور تہا

VIII.

VIII.

Rear'd up th' Apostle's tent its head and greenish showed,

وہ سر بلند خیمۂ زنگاری امام

Wherein th' illustrious-stars of God's own Throne abode,

جسمین خدا کے عرش کے تارونکا تہا مقام

Not less than Ka'aba was of sacredness its share,

کم تہا نہ اُسکا حانۂ کعبہ سے احترام

Archangels, morn and eve on pilgrimage came there,

قدسی طواف کرنیکو آتے تھے صبح و شام

In splendour shone therein, the Moon of Imamate's sign,

جلوہ تہا اُسمین برج امامت کے ماہ کا

E'en Gabriel was a porter of such a holy shrine.

در بان تہا جبرئیل اُسی بار گاہ کا

IX.

IX.

The large-eyed Houri's lock, each tent-rope seemed to be,

گیسوے حور خلد کی ہمسر ہر اک طناب

The heavenly dome's a bubble, if the tent be called a sea,

دریا تھا وہ تو گنبد گردون تھا اک حباب

What grandeur and what state! What splendour, pomp and awe!

وہ شان وہ شکوہ وہ رفعت وہ آب و تاب

The sun felt quite abashed, its awning scarcely saw,

شمسہ سے جسکے آنکھ چرایا تھا آفتاب

To say their orisons, came daily angels bright.

پڑھنا درود آکے ملائک کا ورد تھا

And 'neath the tent-walls played, in lieu of shadow, Light.

سایہ کے بدلے نور قناتوں کے گرد تھا

X.

X.

Glanced in the sun the dome, of the tent—so bright so high,

وہ اوج اور وہ قبۂ پر نور کی چمک

Its bright reflection went from th' earth up to the sky,

تھا نور کی زمین سے تہی آسمان تک

Before it bowed its head, heaven's tent without a pole,

دب دب کے سر جھکا تا تھا بے چوبۂ فلک

The angels near God's Throne, a glance oft at it stole,

اُٹھہ اُٹھہ کے دیکھتے تھے اُسے عرش سے ملک

Perfumed the brains of men, its balmy fragrant smell,

خوشبو سے ہر بشر کا معطر دماغ تھا

Its spaciousness the heart, of courtyards held in spell.

وسعت سے اسکی صحن کا دل باغ باغ تھا

SYED AMEER ALI.

CIVIC EDUCATION.

1. The chief function of education is to educate faculties, *i.e.*, to bring them out and to develop them.

The educational institutions, therefore, aim at the transmission of the principles of social experience from generation to generation for the purpose of equipping the young for life. During social evolution organised society has made an increasingly explicit attempt to educate the young. And to that extent it has developed away from traditional lore chiefly toward bestowing scientific principles. So in recent years education has made an attempt to recognise the complexity of society and to prepare for callings as well as for life in general.

2. In education there are four principal things to be considered, *viz.*, its nature, its source, its instruments, and its recipients. *Its nature.* Education means for man self-knowledge which is the sum total of knowledge of the external universe and self-expression and self-direction. Therefore education when rightly conducted is a dynamic force which gathers fresh stimulus by its own momentum. But unfortunately the last essential requisite (self-direction) is not properly stressed and hence the too frequent charge of "Slave mentality."

3. *Its source.* The source of education is Humanity. Admitting that education is the sum-total of the experiences of humanity at large, the cry of national education in its geographical sense has no meaning. One must borrow experiences of other countries and assimilate them as far as they are suited to the indigenous conditions. There is no such thing as national mathematics, national physics, national chemistry, etc. The process of daily borrowing from other countries and letting other countries borrow from us must go on increasingly and unceasingly if the political annihilation of a country is not desired.

4. *Its Instruments.* Mother, Master, Professor, and Priests are four most important instruments for imparting

education. The four important instruments that weave the fabric of education are the home, the school, the college, and the temple. The first place of honour has rightly been given to the mother for the child learns everything from its mother and then it unlearns later on. How truly it has been said " the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world." Therefore the right education of girls is of supreme national importance.

5. The first plan on which the female education was drawn up was the supposed Inferiority of the Fair Sex. That did not bring out their faculties and develop them for it misunderstood its own aim. The second plan was the Equality of the Fair Sex. So the need for imparting the same kind of education in both boys' and girls' institutions was felt. This education brought into existence a hybrid class of human beings which gave a mighty set-back to Darwin's Theory of Evolution. Effeminate men and masculine women were the products of this education. A chaos in society was the inevitable result. Fortunately, the danger is realised and in the reconstruction that is following, the fabric of female education is being woven on a third plan, *viz.*, Differential characteristics do not necessarily imply inequality. Recognising the complimentary nature of sex differences, the educational policy is being laid afresh.

6. Any sound policy of female education must take in consideration the following : A woman to be a complete citizen must be a wife and a mother. Being a wife means for a woman the lasting preservation of what is distinctive and attractive in womanhood—tenderness, beauty, purity, and fidelity, etc. Being a mother means the bringing into existence of children, their right physical nourishment, and also their many-sided training. Maternity is a function of Life and for Life. It is not a function to be discharged by proxy (nurse, governess, maternity homes, foundling hospitals, etc.)

7. After the boy has passed the home stage, his moulding depends on the master. And therefore a judicious selection of masters is of prime necessity. People imbued with the best in their culture, and also cognisant with the best else-

where ; fully recognising the sacred trust that the country has given to them should be appointed to teach the citizens-in-embryo. A high wall and a strong wall should be built round this teaching service to exclude those who come in because they cannot get service elsewhere and not because they have any particular liking for the teaching work. Steps should be taken not to make this Service-Zone a Cock-pit for the service seekers. But for this it is necessary that the humble masters should be given something more than the starvation-salary that they receive to-day. After the boy has passed the school stage, he comes to the College. Here the material is not so plastic. It is hardened by the various processes it has undergone.

8. Here the only way to educate the young men is by introducing Corporate activities owned by the students, run by the students for the students. This would establish a healthy feeling between the staff and the students. And that is why such great stress is being laid on the Residential System. The staff and the students should come in frequent touch. This would only develop a healthy University life. Segregation of students to a distant place far from the City atmosphere in order to create an ideal atmosphere of learning as is being attempted in the two leading National Universities of India (Benares and Aligarh) is suicidal to the healthy development of the all-sided activities which go to the making of a citizen. A proper discount should be put on book-learning and attempts should be made to divert energy into new and untried fields. But instead, a number of books are still prescribed for the students to cram and to repeat parrot-like before they can pass through the Examination mill forgetting that no man's brain can hold more than is contained in a penny book. The social side of education is by far of more importance than mere mugging up of books. There ought to be a system of instruction which would make men happy and useful. It is wrong to have equal education for all, and so there should be that kind of education which is suited to the individuality of each, not mere book-learning but such as will form men's lives,

not the improvement of the understanding only, but also the ennobling of the heart.

9. Throughout the various stages, the home, the school, the College, and even when one has entered life, a need for religious education is felt. But then religion should not be given its restricted meaning. As they preach religion to-day from the temple, the mosque, or the pulpit, the danger is great to the yet unformed minds. How truly Mr. Wells brings this out in his 'Joan and Peter' wherein he says,' "I suppose that the demand for religious observation and religious orthodoxy as a first condition in school is more productive of hypocrisy and rottenness in education than any other single cause. It is a matter of common observation. A school is generally as inefficient as its religious stripe is marked. I suppose it is because if you put the weight on one thing you can not put it on another. Or perhaps it is because no test is so easy for a thoroughly mean and dishonest person to satisfy as a religious test. Schools which have no claim to any other merit always pass themselves off as severely religious. Perhaps the truth is that all bad schools profess orthodoxy rather than that orthodoxy makes bad schools. Now-a-days it is religion that is the last refuge of a scoundrel." So we should try to educate our boys not with a view to dominate their will, not with a view to create " Slavish mentality " by our unnatural methods; but with a view to bring them up as men of light and learning, with full capacity to rise to any height. I am inclined to lay down that all play and no work might make Jack a brilliant boy if only we adopt a judicious plan of making all work a play and nothing else. The kindergarten system does it and we can do a similar thing in colleges by having shorter hours of work, an excellent library, first—rate athletic associations, dramas, parties, sight-seeing, etc.

10. Education must be kept liberal by liberty. It should not be coercive. All sorts of groupings should be possible for a student so that he may study those subjects in which he has some liking. The new Universities that have come and are

coming into existence in the United Provinces have happily kept this important aim in view.

11. So it is clear that there are various hindrances to civil culture, the chief of which is the conflict of interests between Upper and Lower classes. A careful study of the world round us, of the large humanity of which every body forms an important atom would give us an insight into the problem of education and therefore Civic education must not be an education for a single class in the community or for a single nation among the nations of mankind. It should set before men the conception of a well-ordered human society and of a well-ordered human individuality living in relation with it.

D. PANT.

THE RELATIONS OF ECONOMICS TO GEOGRAPHY.*

It is now recognised on all hands that geographical influences do impress a distinctive type of social and economic structure upon the stocks of a certain region. A clue to a scientific classification dealing with different types of economic organisation representing man's manifold behaviour for subsistence and comfort may thus be furnished by those biological studies which seek to discover convergence of characters and similarity of behaviour among animals or plant formations due to the similarity of habitat. There is, however, one consideration which we must bear in mind, and which serves to add to the distinctive elements of social growth-formation supplied by animal geography on a socio-physiological basis. Regional economics will supplement and in part correct the effect of isolation and segregation in the regions of zoo-geographical distribution by the distinctive factor of tradition and a cumulative environment based on such tradition, which mark off man's social life from animal and plant evolution. Man has a history in a sense in which animals and plants have not, and this history enters as a vital factor in the form of cumulative and progressive tradition into the evolution of races and their regions. Social heredity or tradition plays a large part in human evolution, though this is related to the geographic environment and the physical heredity and the instincts and impulses which it furnishes. This moulds the economic routine, and the latter in its turn becomes an institution which helps to mould the mind of the coming generation.

The classification of economic types is thus based on social and cultural factors representing the social value and tradition of a community within which the life economic is placed in an organic setting. Thus, a class system on an economic basis or a caste system on a functional basis expresses the social physiognomy of a particular people and represents two divergent types of economic evolution. It is, of course, true

*A portion of my forthcoming publication on 'Regionalism : A study in Economic Types.'

that cultural relations play an important part in bringing about changes in social and economic organizations; for instance, when one social type is threatened by a stronger one, or when a weak or immature people is subjected or enslaved by a strong adult race. Migrations of labour also play a part in determining economic organizations, especially when they are continued in large numbers for generations effecting the ethnic composition of the region. But, by far the most important and primary basis of the classification of economic types is represented by the influence of the physical environment. An arid desert, excessive cold or heat, mountainous regions, marshy tracts, etc., all serve as factors to determine economic and social organizations. The great Arab thinker and statesman, Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) was perhaps the first to point this out, anticipating Buckle's theory of the influence of climate, food, and soil five centuries before him. History, Ibn Khaldun argued, should study human associations, racial elements, climatic influences, the struggle for food, the stages of civilization (nomadic, militaristic, urban) and the social attainment of intelligence, science, and culture.* A little change in climate may change man's behaviour and mode of life even in the same way as it affects plant and animal formations. This is illustrated by the part played, for instance, by malaria in the decline of the ancient Greek civilization in Greece. Changes in climate arresting or driving away a culture are illustrated in the history of Central Asia, Palestine, and arid America. Ratzel in his monumental work on Anthropo-Geography discusses fully the influences of the geographic environment, but he does not give us any classification of social types on this basis; he also neglects the internal factor of race or biological make-up. The anthropo-geographical theory can explain very well the difference in the lives of various species of animals, but is inadequate for interpreting human evolution. Indeed, neither Ratzel's zones of the distribution of races arranged on purely geographical principles† nor

*Dealey, Sociology, page 33; also Huntington, The Pulse of Asia.

†Semple, Influences of the Geographical Environment.

Forbenius's centres of radiant influence can supply the basis of a true scientific classification. For in Sociology, as in Biology, the ramification of a tree in divergent directions represents the scheme of classification which is most simiiar to the reality of evolution.* Thus, physical, ethnic, cultural, and historic factors have all operated in the evolution of peoples and their regions, and, indeed, a merely geographical classification of peoples according to the regions which they inhabit, will be too superficial and shallow, though the regional influences, of course, enter as a vital formative factor in the form of economic tradition into the evolution of peoples and their zones.

The larger view of social life which Sociology offers shows that there can be no single key to social classification. The causes of social evolution are complex; so are the bases of social classification. Nevertheless, the physical and geographical conditions and the ethnic tradition, as well as the mutual adaptation of physical and social heredity are the vital things in social progress. All other factors, economic organization and education, government, law, and religion are parts of the process of this mutual adaptation.

It is well known how there develop characteristic instincts and mores of mountainous or sedentary, sea-faring or nomad stocks which arise out of geographical conditions and mould the character and direction of economic development. Tropical zones including various rain and monsoon forests have been regarded as distinctive entities in Science and play a role no less, and perhaps, in some respects, more important in the economy of the peoples living in the cold and temperate regions. There is thus an underlying biological unity of the earth, which expresses itself, however, in diverse environmental growths, the co-operation of which is essential for world-economy. Unfortunately, the scientific recognition of variety and divergence in the case of human associations and communities, is absent, but in economic practice, this has been found essential for the exploitation of natural resources and the

*Steinmetz, Classification of Social Types.

production and exchange of raw materials and finished commodities in the world.

If we assume that society is like a biological organism and try to understand economic behaviour from the standpoint of stimuli, we should think of social tropisms, reflexes and instincts due to external stimuli like temperature and humidity, as well as the kind and relative amount of food supplies. Studies of economic behaviour as influenced by these conditions would find their best illustrations in non-migratory races, as in India and China, which have been adapted by selective processes of centuries to their physical environment and which represent such large volumes of settled population that their customs and traditions can be but little modified by driblets of immigration. Economics needs the conclusions formulated by Human Geography respecting such matters. From Ibn Khaldun to Ratzel, through Montesquieu and Buckle, a long line of writers have discussed the influences of the physical environment; but such important studies have not supplied the basis as yet of any economic analysis. Economic behaviour, like actions arising from tropism, may be explained as determined by climate, whether hot or cold, moist or dry,* by altitude above sea-level or proximity to the sea; by the relative abundance or scarcity of fresh water, portable or navigable; or by the mineral wealth of the land or the nature of the soil, determine all of which by its flora and fauna the modes of economic life.

Economic activity may thus be approached from the standpoint of food, showing how economic life is determined by the kind (with special reference to the relative amount of proteid and starch consumption) of food, whether animal or vegetable, or again by the scarcity or abundance of foods. There are already studies showing the physiological or psychological effects respectively of a flesh or vegetable diet or of wheat as against rice, for example, with the implication that there are social consequences according as national diet is chiefly the one or the other. Boas discusses the influence of environment

*Compare Huntington, Civilization and Climate.

upon human types, and shows by modern measurements how climate, food, and labour have registered their effect. Then, too, the relative ease or difficulty of obtaining food determines the nature and kind of the economic organization. The desert nomads develop characteristic arts of obtaining water and food which are adjusted to the region. Island peoples thrive easily by trade and colonization, and the dependence for the food stuffs on outside develops an aggressive and even exploitative industry and trade.

The islands which constitute Japan have reared a different type of people, and have had a different economic history from the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris, of the Persian Gulf and the Indo-Gangetic plain or the highlands of Mongolia and Tibet. These again present marked contrasts with the economic conditions of the desert of Arabia and the tropical rain-forest of Borneo. Indeed, the great continent of Asia can be divided into a series of regions, distinguished alike by climate, vegetation, and modes of economic life. To the North we have the cold tundra region passing to the South into the forest region. To the south of the Asiatic forest stretches a zone of steppes passing into desert, and even into tundra in the elevated regions of Central Asia. On the Northern plains of Asia in the high and low steppes, the conditions have been unfavourable to the growth or agglomeration of population and to economic progress. Indeed, by far the greatest part of Asia is occupied by wandering pastoral nomads and economic life has not advanced beyond the rudimentry stage. Most of the vast tract including Siberia and Western Asia is too dry or too cold for great communities, the exceptions being the grain land strip across Central Siberia and occasional small and scattered areas elsewhere. Pastoral nomadism accompanied by some form of primitive agriculture here represents the economic type. In Turkistan the shepherds follow the rainfall when it occurs at different seasons in the steppes. In the dry interior or desert region of the Sea of Aral in Turkistan and north into Siberia, proso is a great food staple of the Kirghiz nomads, tent-dwellers in the desert. The Mongols in Mongolia

collect in groups in protected valleys in winter, but disperse in summer to utilize every possible water hole or grass patch. The Bedouins of Arabia pasture their flocks in the desert in the rainy season, and migrate to Mesopotamia in the drought. The characteristic industry of the arid plateaus throughout the region from Arabia to Tibet is the care of herds of horses, sheep, goats, and camels, and the people are generally nomadic. The Kirghiz do not cultivate land or only to a very slight extent and practically do not eat bread, though flour and rice, obtained by barter, are employed by the richer. Milk and milk-products, with the flesh of the flocks form the basis of the diet, and a milk-wine produced by the fermentation of milk, is a characteristic drink. South of the Asiatic steppes and deserts comes an interrupted band of warm temperate or tropical forest, luxuriant to the east where there are summer rains, scanty and scrub-like to the West, where Asia meets the Mediterranean. The great bulk of the population of Asia are agriculturists and are concentrated in the plains of India and China. The main foods here are cereals. Indeed the soil is so carefully cultivated in most of China proper and Japan that these regions may be called gardens. Here have arisen among the mass of settled inhabitants some of the world's best specimens of vegetable gardening, art, and handicraft, as well as the art of socialised living. In Japan, floods devastating the land give rise to festivals of supplication.* Over half the inhabitants live in rural districts. The infertility of soil promotes frugality; the farmer's difficulties inculcate patience and perseverance, and his status is high. Domestic occupations as well as industries which require great labour like the production of tea, silk, and rice have developed into perfection among the thrifty and the laborious populations.

Over 830 million people live in India, Indo-China, China, Korea, Japan, and the South-Eastern Islands, *i.e.*, half the population of the world on one-tenth of its surface. The dense population leads to the introduction of more intensive types of farming on the small plateaus or in even the

*Walter Weston, National Geographic Magazine, July 1921.

tiniest of level valleys. There is also a tendency to carry agriculture farther by resorting to terracing as a means of extending permanent cultivation to the less level lands. In India, China, and Japan, this effort is carried to the extreme, and terraced hill sides whose natural slope is nearly or quite 45 degrees are cultivated in narrow strips by hand labour. Further a very economical method of cultivation has been adopted, *viz.*, the introduction of rotations of leguminous and grass crops which return to the soil a great deal through the cover of vegetation and nodules or decayed stems laden with bacteria. This has been encouraged by the monsoons which have introduced the two-crops system throughout the land of summer rain. This is in striking contrast with the Mediterranean lands where the dry summer is a great limitation. The physical characteristics of the place where people can congregate and form in social groups of a permanent character also mould the land tenure as well as the economic basis of social relationship. In the deserts and the arid plateaus there is only group ownership and for the wandering, pastoral Bedouin tribes that is so loose that it is often disputed. The group is here to-day and there to-morrow. Ownership focusses now about a well-watered old glacial delta in a rapidly drying up plateau, as in the case of long buried cities so recently brought to light in Eastern Turkistan, now about a spring in a desert, as in the Arabia of the nomads, now about a well as in the Western Punjab, and again about a clearing in the forest or a tun or hill easily defended. In fertile river valleys village communities grow up as in the Indian and Chinese level plains partly on the newly developed emphasis upon co-operative methods in rice cultivation, partly on the necessity of harmonising the claims of the Haves and Have-nots in a dense population and partly out of the adaptation of agricultural usages to the physiographical conditions so that a small area might support an enormous population. The settled habits of a permanently attached social community have developed a distinct class of social services and corresponding socio-economic gradation. Thus the tribal method of occupation, the feudal

system, the manorial system, the owership of land in fee simple and the village community which are so many different economic bases of social relationship are dependant to a considerable degree upon the nature of the country within which it has been formed. The basis of feudal society rests upon the system of feudal land-tenure. The great farms of England and Scotland were conducive to the development of aristocratic government.* In the East there are seldom large estates or a landlord class. In India and China the democracy of the rural commune and the occupational guild spring up on the basis of the small individual holdings and the handicrafts or small workshops. Such an enormous population can, however, hardly be supported by such a small space. Thus in the case of the Chinese and the Indians, a lowering of the standard of living and intensive farming have often been the double alternative to emigration. Intensive cultivation and incessant toil in hand-cultivation serve to maintain with difficulty the vast populations which constantly received accession of strength from the nomads of the North who had to quit their pasturing grounds due to the gradual desiccation of Central Asia. If to these we add the early maturity of woman, the value of a large family in agriculture and domestic industries, the abundant food supply, etc., we understand the cause of the high birth rate of these regions as compared with Western Europe and America. Thus arises the insistent problem of oriental emigration due to the vast surplus labour awaiting opportunity for winning a higher standard of living in other regions.

In the south where the tropical plantations exist, in Ceylon, Burma, on the flood plains of Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago new problems of intercourse between white capital and yellow or black labour arise. These are connected with more general problems of white colonisation and mastery in the warm lands. But the problems are as old as the ages. For from the dawn of history peoples have migrated from the rigorous climates of the North to the equatorial lowlands. The descent of the Aryans into

*Blackmar, Outlines of Sociology, Chapter II.

India, the conquest of the Chinese by Mongols and Manchus, the recurrent barbarian invasions of Greece and Italy, the northward pressure of Kaffirs and Patagonians, the absorption of Asia and Africa into European colonies and spheres of influence illustrate the equator-ward drive from the less kindly climates *. On the other hand the tropics are sometimes so overpowering that man succumbs to them. Vast areas within the tropics are beyond the pale of agriculture or else can be cultivated only in a most haphazard way. The kind of intermittent agriculture which alone is possible in many jungle-covered parts of tropical lands is most demoralising. Inasmuch as the people must change their fields every year and may in some years be unable to burn the bush which they have cut, they have no feeling of permanence. In many cases there is no definite ownership of land, and even where this exists the owner has nothing to encourage him to improve his holdings. It is useless or in fact sheer waste of time to attempt to improve a tract which next year is to abandoned once more to the jungle †. Much of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, for instance, is so fertile that the inhabitants have to do little more than clear the surface of the ground and plant cuttings to obtain crops. It is natural to find here in the interior a small negroid people, the Negritoes, one of the most primitive races of the world. The rank tropical jungles of Borneo have similarly defied human labour and they remain as uninhabited as the barren moss and lichen-covered swamps of the Arctic steppes.

We may now pass on to another important feature of Eastern economic geography. The peasant folk in the Eastern Asiatic sea-board is not stay-at-home because of the call of the mighty rivers and lure of gain in the contiguous islands. The most conspicuous feature of the Pacific coast is the series of island festoons which hang along the coast from Malaysia to Alaska and which have promoted Eastern trade by the regularity of their arrangements. Thus from the main

*Ross ; Principles of Sociology, p. 692.

†Huntington, Yale Review, page 506.

chain of Malaysia, the islands of Borneo, the Phillippines, and Formosa enclose the Chinese sea and represent the sphere of influence of the Chinese merchant and labourer. The Chinese have, indeed, been the world's earliest navigators and maritime adventurers. The Kuro Suvo a warm current comparable with the Gulf Stream of the American coast, which flows from South to North along the Eastern coast of Asia helps to give a mild climate favourable to active industry and commerce throughout the year. The configuration of coast line is another important factor in influencing economic development. The coast line may be rich in bays and gulfs and estuaries forming excellent harbours and giving easy access to shipping, as in the case of Europe and Japan, or it may be marked by an absence of such advantages, as in the case of Africa and the Indian Peninsula. In the former case trade and commerce flourish, in the latter case the greater part of the coast cannot be approached by shipping and hence commerce is impeded. All this has a marked effect on the upward path of industrial progress.

The surface forms of a country, its division into mountains and valleys, into high plains or plateaux and low plains, the distribution of land and water, the nature of the soil must, indeed, have a marked effect on the economic development of a country. A mountainous country like Japan or a high plateau country like Tibet present very different economic features from the well-watered plains of Northern India and China, the steppes of Central Asia or the warm swampy lands of the Malay Peninsula. A wide-spread net-work of rivers develop special features. The rich flood plains and deltas of the great rivers of Southern and Eastern Asia are among the most fertile regions of the world. Bluntschli points out that great fertility of soil promotes an unequal distribution of property. We find a small and highly civilised class, hardly any middle class and a great mass of poor and servile populations. The most favourable soil is one of moderate fertility even as the most favourable climate is a varied and temperate climate. The labour and labourer are properly valued but

they are not overtasked. There is frugality and there is also a check on population. Labourers thus attain to some degree of wealth and cannot be held cheap. One class shades off gradually into another; there is no danger of the lower classes being enslaved, nor of the higher becoming a privileged caste. There is a great diversity of occupations but the people form a coherent whole, animated by a common spirit*.

On the plains of the great rivers of India and China the dense agricultural populations depend upon rice cultivation which directly encourages communial methods of agriculture. The creation and maintenance of irrigation channels and the necessity of controlling the flood waters call for neighbourly aid and co-operation in the villages commune and these become customary and incorporated in the scheme of rural obligations. The conservative traditions of a peaceful peasant population perpetrates class or caste differences but these are sweetened by a strong communal feeling, a living sympathy, and closeness; and in the absence of inducements to trade and colonization due to the plenitude of natural resources there springs up a humanised and socialised industry on the basis of an equable and uniform diffusion of population in agricultural distribution and an inter-dependant system of urban and rural exchange.

But rivers give not merely fertility. They not only provide soil and manure but also a highway of traffic. They develop the love of adventure and commerce. In the plains of Northern India the people are a gentle peasant folk responsive to religion and education. In Eastern Bengal the mighty rivers introduce strong elements of movement and enterprise, of fishing and transport; in various ways stimulating, adventurous, unsettling even to the peasant villages. The contrast, the mingling and the clashing of peasant and fisher population, so deeply formative throughout the history of Mediterranean and Western Europe, have long been here in evidence, though of course on the smaller scale of a river system as compared with seas and coasts, and thus operative on the small scale instead of the great. Peasant prosperity is advanced by easy

*Bluntschli, The Theory of the State, p. 235.

transport, and vigour and well-being improved by fish diet. The villages are also relieved of their more restive young spirits by the call of the rivers, with their long perspectives and more adventurous careers. An adventurous stock in a riparian tract shows the elements of sport and luck which give charm to the fisher life as well as the more ambitious, lure of gain, even, comparative fortune through transport and commerce* Conditions are still more distinctive in the Bengal delta where the tide of the reclamation of the great forest known as the Sunderbun follows the course of the creeks which open themselves into the large rivers and the reclaimed parts are almost all known by the names of the *khals* on which they are situated. The numerous *khals* communicating with the creeks run far into the midst of the *abads*, the damming up of which is an important process in the reclamation scheme. The expenses of such damming are all borne by the cultivators together. Both floods and wild beasts occasion great distress and the colonies of cultivators show a good deal of co-operative enterprise for the sake of existence amid these difficult conditions. Thus are the broad creeks gradually dotted with thriving colonies, skirted by the graceful areca and cocoa in all the beauty of luxuriant growth and a forest of plantains of gigantic size beneath which these young palms delight to flourish. Trade gradually prospers but where the country scarcely knows any roads and where so many creeks and *khals* intercept passage by land at every step boats not only take the place of carts for the carriage of goods but are also the only means of conveyance available for men. Haturia (bazar-going) boats, usually long-shaped, swift going barks are laden with the shop-keepers, wares, tobacco, salt, *gur*, vegetables, and other articles. Behind this heap about a dozen men are seated paddle in hand, striking the waters at full length, front and behind, as far as the hand can reach, communicating a motion to the boat which outdistances all ordinary ones. By dusk the wares are all sold, or the remnant is brought back and the party start on their homeward voyage. Generally

*Geddes, Life and Work of Sir J. C. Bose, p. 3.

they come with the tide and glide down at ebb, their journey being so timed. The surf may roll, and the nights may be pitch dark, still the hat-going voyagers are not a bit afraid, for home must be reached. Nor is the importance of this trade negligible. The Bhairab from Kachna to Alaipur is the great thoroughfare through which the produce of Eastern Bengal pours into Calcutta. At every flow and ebb of the tide a fleet of boats, the shape of the prow and stern of which easily suggest the district they come from, may be seen gliding up and down freighted with merchandise for the great emporium, and at the spots where they anchor in order to wait for the tide there is a busy scene and a floating bazar where the villagers have come down with their vegetables for supplying the assembled crew, and where the fisherman also finds a readier sale for his article at a higher price than the bazar gives him.*

A hardy fecund stock in a country with abundant mineral resources and without extensive resources in land similarly develops characteristic ideas and interests. Manufactures easily succeed here and are divorced from agricultural production and instead of the diffusion of population, capital and skill, we find unequal aggregations of population and wealth. To the wealth which mineral resources give if we add the commercial advantages with which countries in Western Europe are endowed, we shall realise why their productivity enables them to maintain the equipment by means of which they acquire and rule additional territory in other parts of the world. Concentrative production as well as rapid commercial development and colonial and imperial expansion form the chief features, even as the direct touch with land of large masses of population is favourable to the development of arts and crafts and small production in connection with agriculture and a humanised and peaceful non-explorative industry and international commerce of a communalistic economy, which the continental economic organisations of India and China, for instance, have evolved.

*Ram Shunker Sen, Report on the Agricultural Statistics, District Jessore, 1872-73.

Economic behaviour is influenced not only by the kinds and amount of food consumed but also by the struggle for food and wages. Woodruff emphasises that the conditions of food supply are the determining factors in social progress, for food supply determines the size of the population, and the pressure of population upon food supply is the immediate stimulus which gives rise to invention and discovery and all control over nature.* The simple equation of food and population offers, according to him, the solution of the enigma of progress.†

The relative scarcity of food in proportion to the population develops Malthusianism. The struggle for wages under such conditions gives rise to a characteristic economic system. Wage slavery or ethical competition, industrialism or communalism, Marxism or social determinism, may each be traced to the influence on economic behaviour by the nature of struggle for food or wages which gives to the average man mere food and shelter in return for daily toil or ample subsistence in different environments. Increase of population and pressure on means of subsistence lead to conflict of interests, separation and migration on the one hand, and on the other new adaptations which give rise to superior ways of co-operating, so that an adequate and stable supply of food shall be assured. The conflict of a group with a group for a common food supply has been an important factor in the social evolution, especially in the way of integrating groups. There are also *pari passu* the development of private property and the rise of classes organised on the basis of common interests. The rise of property in things other than weapons and ornaments accentuated group conflict. In the temperate zones stability in respect of food supply through the possession of flocks and herds was an essential guarantee against unfavourable seasons, but these encouraged systematic and continuous group conflicts which have since played a leading part in the drama of social progress. With the spread of capitalism, the exploitation of new lands, and the conflict between culture-groups for the possessions of the earth have assumed a world-wide significance.

*Woodruff, The Expansion of Races. †Ellwood, Sociology in its Psychological Aspects

Where, on the other hand, food supply is abundant, there is less conflict and warfare, and we see the beginning of that sympathetic communal life of which the village community has remained the highest type and which has become the conscious goal of communalism. Communal rights and property are emphasized and instead of the class system based on class interests, we have functional groups knit by social and cultural ties. Society develops by accretion and assimilation rather than by conflict and absorption; there is a steady process of socialisation which co-ordinates the diverse social groups and establishes stable relations between the members of the group and its life conditions. All this shows a definite connection between scarcity or abundance of food and the nature and kind of social evolution. Government and many other institutional forms of social life also exhibit divergent types as economic forms and organizations.

Adjustment of the arts of production is comparable to the adjustment of animals with regard to food, nest building, materials used in nest building, and other features of ecology and behaviour. Ecological economics would attempt to trace the development of different types of economic organization and of labour arising out of the process of adjustment through the effects of physical factors and through formation of habits, instincts, and associations which, indeed, are correlated to the physical factors. Animal ecology, indeed, offers the methods for a study of the distribution of races and institutional forms in different social types. It is true that cultures have migrated and ideas and customs have been imitated and absorbed, but social, like biological, modifications have generally followed the line of least resistance, and adaptive assimilation. The cumulative tradition of the race and region has, marked off man's life in broad social and economic types in relation to the physical conditions of Regional Geography to which, indeed, the social and physical factors are adapted and correlated in the course of evolution, thus producing diverse multi-linear series in different cultural zones.

RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE.

THE TARIFF PROBLEM IN INDIA:

LESSONS OF COMMERCIAL POLICIES IN THE WEST.

(*Read before the B. Com. Association, Lucknow.*)

Economic Theory and Practice.—There is now a general agreement among all sections of economists that economic theory and practice are very closely and intimately inter-related. On the one hand, we should bear in mind that man's opinions are to a large extent coloured and moulded by his environment. Hence, economic theories are in some cases a mere reflection of facts. On the other hand, it is also undoubtedly true that man being a mere bundle of thoughts and ideas, his environment is daily being consciously and unconsciously created and recreated by his inner personality. Hence, it has been fully recognized that in all social sciences, theory and practice, ideas and facts, principle and policy, must be brought into close inter-relations in order to afford satisfactory guidance in actual life. In economics, however, the necessity for such a correlated study must be specially emphasised, because in the modern world, while economic forces play by far the most powerful influence on our social and political life, the study of these forces themselves is becoming daily more difficult with every stage of progress in the intricacy and perfection of our economic machinery, which is the most delicate and complex of all machineries ever invented by man.

Mercantilism.—Accordingly, our present study must begin with a short review of the different stages of commercial theory and practice. The birth of modern economics, both in theory and practice, is to be traced back to the age of Nationalism in Europe approximately covering 300 years—from the 16th to the 18th century. It was during this age that a new political system based upon the national state was gradually evolving out of the ruins of the old feudal system of Medieval Europe. The nations of Europe were moving on, through a period of hostilities, to an independent national existence with their absolute sovereign authority. Another important fact

which complicated the relations among European nations was the discovery of new continents both in Asia and America which inflamed the cupidity of European governments. In that age of unceasing wars, the issues were often decided by the length of the purse rather than by the length of the sword. Hence, the new continents, specially America, from which gold and silver were flowing in a steady current to Portugal and Spain, were regarded as valuable prizes to be contested for among the European nations. Thus, the political rivalry in Europe cast its long shadow across the seas on the newly discovered colonies. In such an age, therefore, it was natural that there should have grown up a body of restrictive economic policies which have come down to us with the title of Mercantilism. The whole commercial theory and practice of this period may be summed up in two premises and one conclusion. *Firstly*, gold and silver were wealth par excellence, a superior kind of wealth, upon which national prosperity depended. *Secondly*, the inflow of gold and silver depended upon a favourable balance of trade, upon the excess of exports over imports. Hence, the conclusion was that imports were bad, and exports good. Accordingly, the policy was to shut out imports by prohibitive measures, and encourage exports by subsidies, bounties, and various other artificial methods.

Adam Smith.—Adam Smith demolished the theoretical basis of this restrictive trade policy in his immortal work, the Wealth of Nations (1776). Adam Smith's attack against mercantilism appears to have been based mainly upon two grounds, one political and another economic. From the political standpoint, he was opposed to artificial restrictions on industry and trade, because the law-makers and administrators were neither wise enough to understand and regulate the complex phenomena of the economic world, nor strong enough to resist the temptation to manipulate the machinery of law and administration for their own interests. From the economic standpoint he favoured complete freedom of trade because that would enable every country to concentrate its resources on those industries which were quite suitable to its natural

environment, and thus to derive the manifold advantages of localised specialisation of industries. Under such a simple and natural system of economics, each and every nation would gain by the most effective application of resources and consequently by the maximum production of national wealth on the one hand, and by the ability to procure imports at the lowest possible rates of exchange on the other. Thus, free trade would simultaneously promote both national and international economic welfare. So far as the logic of Smithian arguments was concerned, it was perfect and complete in itself. His theory was further developed and refined by his followers in England, specially Ricardo and John Stuart Mill.

Smith's influence on English Commercial Policy;—Let us now estimate the influence of the Smithian theory of free trade for the next 100 years, say, up to the decade 1860-70. Before Smithian ideas had had time to mould public opinion and shape the policy of statesmen, we have the outbreak of the Napoleonic War, during which all considerations of propriety or principle had to be subordinated to the supreme necessity of providing money to the Government by all sorts of taxes, both direct and indirect. Hence although Pitt was a professed follower of Adam Smith, sheer force of circumstances prevented him from translating the ideas of the master into practice. Thus, even in England, it was not before fifty years had passed since the publication of the Wealth of Nations, that the Smithian ideas of free trade could exercise any influence on Commercial Policy. During the next 40 years 1820-60, England's fiscal system passed through three distinctive stages of reforms till at last it came to conform to the doctrines of Adam Smith. The first step was taken by Huskisson during the years 1824-1827, when he reduced many duties and removed various restrictions. The second period was from 1842 to 1846, when Peel made great alterations in the protective system and abolished the Corn Laws. Finally, the full application in all its details of the principle of free commerce to the British Tariff was the work of Gladstone, accomplished chiefly in 1853-60.

It must not, however, be supposed for a moment that this adoption of free trade principles by England was entirely due to the Wealth of Nations. For, we should remember that it was the actual industrial condition of England that inspired the author of the Wealth of Nations and made his ideas fit in with the economic requirements of his country. When Adam Smith wrote, the inventions in the textile industry, in mining and metallurgy, and the perfection of the steam engine had already begun to show their marvellous results. The economies of large scale production, of concentration of labour and capital, had become manifest. But their further evolution and progress was impeded by various restrictions on foreign trade. Adam Smith, with his remarkable foresight, clearly realised that the attainment of the complete perfection and logical goal of the new system depended upon gradual expansion of markets till the whole world was converted into an international market, when alone specialisation and standardization could be carried to its furthest limits. Here, therefore, we undoubtedly find the concrete historical background of the Smithian ideas of free trade. The wonderful strength of the new system in England was fully revealed during the Napoleonic War when the victory went to England owing chiefly to her new industrial wealth. Hence, soon after the Napoleonic War, English industries became restive under a restrictive system and manifested a strong desire to be provided with sufficient outlets for their pent up energies. The first practical step for the abolition of the protective system was taken not by the economists, nor by the statesmen, but by the merchants of London and Edinburgh, who presented petitions to Parliament in 1820 in favour of limiting the restrictions on commerce to taxation for revenue purposes only. It was this that gave the impetus to Huskisson's Tariff Reforms. In the second period, again, Sir Robert Peel by himself, great as he was, could not effect the reforms. His work was immensely facilitated by the agitation of the Anti-Corn League, mainly a combination of manufacturers who were handicapped by the high wages brought about by the high price of corn,

and who carried on a most vigorous propaganda through their mouth-pieces, Cobden and Bright. But the powerful vested interests represented by the landed aristocracy did not entirely succumb to the vigorous statesmanship of Peel and the brilliant oratorical powers of Cobden and Bright. It needed the horrors of the potato famine in Ireland which claimed millions as its victims in the early forties, to force public opinion to veer round in favour of free trade and to completely shatter the foundations of protectionist vested interest, before Peel could carry through his reform proposals. When, however, the Corn-Laws, which were called by Cobden 'the foster parent of all other monopolies' were abolished, the reforms of the next decade undertaken by Gladstone met with little opposition in their way. Since 1860, down to very recent times, the English fiscal system was in complete agreement with free trade principles.

French Commercial Policy.—It was the Revolution of 1789 that first gave economic unity to France. From 1789 to 1792, we have a moderate system of protection bordering upon free trade, the range of duties varying from 5 to 15% only. The Napoleonic War broke out in 1792, and therefore from 1792 to 1814, we have the continental system of Napoleon, which meant absolute prohibition of trade relations between the Continent and England. During the blockade period, France witnessed the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution, and by the end of the period, a powerful class of iron-masters and textile manufacturers rose. Thus, therefore, although the Restoration Monarchy of 1814-30 was willing to moderate the system of prohibition and high protection handed down by Napoleon, the forceful resistance of vested interests rendered all attempts futile. Then during 1830-48, when the July Monarchy was in power, we have the adoption of what is called the principle of protection to young industries and also some concessions in the case of raw materials. From 1848 to 1870, when Napoleon the Third was in power, there was a progressive application of the principle of free trade. Napoleon the Third was a close student of English affairs and was much impressed by the Tariff Reforms effected by Peel. So, he resolved to make

big cuts in the protective system all along the line. Another liberal reform which must be credited to him was the inauguration of an era of commercial treaties among European Nations. He was influenced by the powerful and persuasive arguments of Cobden and also by a desire to strengthen his position by cultivating the friendship of powerful neighbours. Thus, during the decade 1860-70, we have a large number of commercial treaties which, through the instrumentality of Napoleon III bound together the European Nations as if in a net-work of economic relations, and which made it possible for the European Tariffs to approximate to free trade principles. But the year 1870 marked the beginning of a revulsion of commercial policy from liberalism to extreme conservatism. The crushing defeat inflicted on France by Germany in 1870 naturally gave a great impetus to the building of a self-sufficient national economic life, containing adequate resources in Agriculture, Manufacture, and Shipping. The memory of the Franco-German War and the constant possibility of another war dominated the economic policy of the State. A system of high duties both on manufactures and agricultural products was combined with bounties and subsidies, specially in the case of her mercantile marine. The results of her protective policy for over 40 years (1870-1914) was that she was self-sufficient in respect of food supply. She also made some progress in the manufacturing industries, but not at all in proportion to the burden of high prices imposed on the public. In the building of an adequate mercantile marine, for which she spent between £20,000,000 to £30,000,000 by way of subsidies, she completely failed. It must also be remembered at the same time that while during the same period, all other nations multiplied their population several times, the French population remained almost stationary, which must partially at least be attributed to the burden of protection which made family life much more expensive than it need have been.

Tariff and economic progress in Germany.—In Germany, the tariff history may be taken to have begun in 1819. From 1819 to 1834 all the States of Germany gradually entered the

commercial union called the Zollverein. The early commercial policy of the Zollverein was very near free trade principles, because the leading State, Prussia, had mainly agricultural interests to look after, and her powerful landed aristocracy favoured free trade. But later on from 1843 to 1860 the necessity of reconciling the southern States which were mainly industrial, compelled the Zollverein to adopt a fairly high system of protection. Since 1860 she took part in the movement of commercial treaties initiated by Napoleon III. Thus there began a policy of continual reduction of protective duties till in 1877 she became very nearly a free trade country. At this point, however, there was an unexpected return to a policy of an extreme all-round protection, with special preference in the case of Agriculture. We have already noticed a similar reversal of policy in France after 1870.

List and his influence.—There is a wide-spread idea that the German Tariff Policy and, as a matter of fact, the Tariff Policy of all protectionist countries, have been shaped according to the ideas of List. Let us see what his ideas were and how far they were followed in his own country. It was in 1841 that List published his remarkable book, the National System of Political Economy, which may well be regarded as the Bible of modern protectionists. He introduced two new ideas into the then current theory of international trade, the idea of nationality and the idea of productive powers as contrasted with that of exchange values. In the first place, he pointed out that absolute free trade on a basis of cosmopolitanism would not be wise, because nations were distinct entities with conflicting interests which could not be ignored. Free trade under the present circumstances of unequal growth of different nations might enrich one or a few at the expense of the many. Hence, with List, "Political Economy becomes a science which by taking account of the actual interests and of the particular conditions of each nation, shows along what path each may rise to that degree of culture at which union with other civilised nations, accompanied by free exchange, might be both possible and useful."

The second point which List emphasised was that the power of creating wealth was infinitely more important than wealth itself. Hence, some present sacrifice of wealth must be borne with a view to the development of productive powers. But of all the productive forces of the nation none, according to List, can equal manufactures, for manufactures develop the productive forces of a nation to a superlative degree. "The spirit of striving for a steady increase in mental and bodily acquirements, of emulation and liberty, characterises a state devoted to manufacture and commerce." On the other hand, "in a country devoted to mere raw agriculture, dullness of mind, awkwardness of body, obstinate adherence to old notions, customs, methods, and processes, want of culture, of prosperity and of liberty, prevail. Further, the prosperity of manufactures creates a permanent market for agricultural products which neither wars nor hostile tariffs can affect." Thus manufactures, which create new social forces and productive powers, deserve introduction even at the expense of some temporary loss—by means of protection. But List's protective system is only applicable under certain conditions. *Firstly*, the protective system can only be justified when it aims at the industrial apprenticeship of a nation, and hence is not applicable to fully developed countries. *Secondly*, it must be shown that the nation's progress is being retarded by the competition of a powerful manufacturing rival which has already advanced further in the industrial path. *Thirdly*, protection must be temporary. It must be withdrawn as soon as the country has developed productive powers.

Such, then, was the theory of protectionism advanced by List. The main part of his thesis has been accepted by all sober-minded economists, even in England. Like most other countries, Germany also must have been influenced during the early part of her commercial history by List's ideas regarding the importance of manufactures and also the necessity of protecting them in the initial stages of their growth. The infancy of German industries must have been past by 1870, the year of the Franco-Prussian War. But instead of a reduc-

tion of the protective system after that date there has been a gradual progress of all round protectionism in that country. How are we to explain this divergence of protectionist practice from theory? After the formation of the German Empire, there arose a new set of circumstances which compelled the Government to inaugurate a policy of extreme protection. In the first place, there was a combination of powerful manufacturers who wanted to get a monopoly of the home market by means of protective tariff. In the second place, the landed aristocracy of north-eastern Germany, specially Prussia, experienced a decline in their profits owing to the keen competition of American and Russian grain. Hence, they demanded agricultural protection. The determining factor, however, was the condition of the Imperial Finances. Since the formation of the Empire, the Imperial revenue was made up of contributions from the separate states. Bismarck felt that it would be both imprudent and undignified to rely on such contributions to meet the growing needs of the Imperial Exchequer. So, he decided to raise the major portion of the Imperial revenues from customs and excise taxes, and thus make the Central Government independent of State contributions. Accordingly, therefore, although the German Tariff up to the seventies may have been in accordance with the principle of protection to young industries, the subsequent policy was shaped partly by the pressure of powerful vested interests and partly by the exigencies of the Government finances.

Let us now study the actual influence of tariff upon Germany's economic prosperity. It is undoubtedly true that the tariff up to 1870 did something for the encouragement of industries by keeping out competition. But the result of the subsequent policy has been the formation of combinations and kartels which, assured of a monopoly in the home market, have regularly exploited the home consumers by limitation of supply, while at the same time German goods have been sold at a much lower price in foreign markets. Thus, in the end, the industries which were maintained in their infancy at the expense

of the consumers became aggressive towards the public when they were grown up. Hence, therefore, instead of leading to a general prosperity, the tariff only became an instrument of exploitation at the hands of the iron-masters and cotton-princes. The real cause of Germany's industrial progress during the period under review lay somewhere else. It is to be explained mainly by reference to the systematic co-operation between industry and science in that country. On the one hand, there has been a very large number of students of science who have dedicated their whole lives to promote the economic prosperity of the Fatherland. On the other hand, both the Government and the leaders of industry have encouraged and honoured the scientists to a degree which is not to be found in any other part of the world. Not only have the scientists and the trained scholars occupied a very conspicuous position in German society, but also have they received every facility from the Government and the industrialists. Some of the industrial magnates have their great laboratories where hundreds of young science graduates are employed in the hope that a few at least of these would make substantial contributions to the solution of industrial problems and thus compensate the owners of the laboratories for the vast expenses they incur. What wonder is there, then, that Germany should have made such tremendous progress in the chemical and other industries which depend upon "academic training and laboratory work," and which are also the most vital industries of modern times? Dr. Marshall's description of Germany as the land of "Science in the service of Industry," therefore, very beautifully sums up the underlying factors of Germany's economic progress.

Commercial policy and economic progress in America.— American tariff history began with the year 1789. Up to 1808 the tariff was framed on the principle of revenue duties. In that year, America became involved in the Napoleonic War, which was concluded in 1814. During these few years, owing to the cessation of imports from England and Europe, a few industries sprang up, and the period therefore, marked the transition of America from the purely agricultural stage to the

manufacturing stage. Thus, when the war was over, there was a cry of protection to young industries, which resulted in the definite adoption of a protective tariff. In the year 1824, Alexander Hamilton, one of the most distinguished of American statesmen, published his Report on Manufactures wherein he developed the famous young industry argument, which contained the first statement of modern protectionist theory, and which was one of the sources of List's inspiration in later years. This book, along with List's National System of Political Economy, appears to have influenced the American tariff policy up to the year 1860. From 1816 to 1860, therefore, may be regarded as the period during which American industries outgrew their infant stage. At this point, however, when America was about to adopt approximately a policy of free trade, the outbreak of the Civil War and its continuance up to 1864, led to the imposition of very high duties, both customs and excise. When the War was over, the excise duties were abolished, but the pressure of vested interests brought about a continuous heightening of the tariff wall, which reached its highest point in 1890, and remained high till 1909, when a policy of slow reduction was adopted. The dominant economic position acquired by America during the last war was expected to lead to the adoption of free trade after the war was over. But the Tariff Act which was passed only last year imposed very high duties not only upon manufactures, but also upon important classes of raw-materials like pig-iron, wool, zinc, etc., thus violating one well-recognized principle of protection. Thus, up to 1860, her tariff satisfied the demands of protection to young industries. But after that, the tariff shaped by the exigencies of the Civil War was either retained intact or even heightened by the pressure of vested interests. The degree of political corruption, lobbying, intriguing and wire-pulling which is a standing blot on American public life has been mainly responsible for her tariff legislation during the last 60 years. Discussing the tariff of this period, one writer says, "The history of tariff-making is not particularly honourable in all its details to any party or interest;

it has too often partaken of a personal fight by manufactures against the public and each other."

Thus, the benefit of tariff protection to young industries exhausted itself by 1860. Here also, as in Germany, we must account for uniformly rapid progress throughout the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century not by reference to tariff, but by reference to the underlying forces of that wonderful country. All eminent economists, among whom we should note the names of Dr. Marshall and Professor Taussing, have attributed America's achievements in economic life to her limitless resources and to the restless enterprise and brilliant inventiveness of her people. Invention of more and more efficient machinery and the adaptation of one industry after another to the conditions of machine production and large-scale organization—here are to be found the sources of her remarkable success.

We need not proceed with our review of commercial history any further. All the other important countries, Japan and the British Dominions, for example, have mainly followed List from the theoretical standpoint and imitated America and Germany from the practical standpoint. Everywhere the cry has been that of a National System of Political Economy and protection to young industries, and everywhere the examples kept in view are those of Germany and America. The course of policy and the lessons of history, too, have been everywhere nearly the same.

The case for protection in India.—We should now proceed to discuss the question of the right fiscal policy for India in the light of theory as well as the lessons of commercial history. So far as the theoretical basis is concerned, it has long been recognized by Indian publicists and economists that List's ideas are almost entirely applicable to the conditions of our country. The idea of a National System of Political Economy and the development of multiform productive powers—these have been the basis of our demand for a protective system. The instability and inelasticity of a purely agricultural life, the narrow scope for the exercise of talents, and the stationary

character of our national income which is becoming more and more unequal to the needs of a growing population and also to the demands of a modern government—these are the deficiencies in our economic life which would be corrected, as List points out, by the establishment of manufactures of which the basic requirements—raw-materials, power and labour—exist in the country. List's second condition is also satisfied here. Our industrial development is being impeded by the competition of well-established foreign industries whose only advantage lies in an earlier start. Even though all other conditions may be favourable to the establishment of industries, although capital, labour and raw-materials may be lying ready to hand, still the starting of many new industries cannot be fully expected under present circumstances. Because as soon as industries have been started in our country, it would be possible for well-entrenched foreign industries, which have free access to our markets, to bring all their resources in money, experience and commercial strategy to bear upon a cut-throat competition with our industries. The final outcome of such a competition between unequals, a giant and an infant, is always a foregone conclusion. At the present moment, many factors are fairly favourable to the growth of industries in this country. But this fear of unequal competition is responsible for a widespread lack of confidence and optimism among our capitalists and business-men. As some witnesses stated before the Fiscal Commission, it is not a very high rate of protective duties that they want so much as a definite assurance of protection, even a fairly moderate protection. This guarantee of a reasonable measure of protection to our young and as yet unborn industries, in order to create an atmosphere of confidence and optimism, appears to be the most justifiable demand for protection in our country.

Another important basis of protectionism in India is the overwhelming and universal national sentiment in favour of a protective tariff. The strength of the sentiment is due partly to a burning sense of the injustice that has been done by the vested interests in Lancashire in denying us the right

to determine our own fiscal arrangements. It is also partly the result of a widespread belief that the marvellous industrial achievements of Germany, America and Japan have been mainly due to their protective tariff. Whether such a belief in the efficacy of protection, and such a sentiment in its favour may be right or wrong, it cannot be gainsaid that they have been common among all peoples in the early stages of their conscious nationhood, and they are, therefore, natural to India also where we are just moving towards the attainment of a conscious, united and real national status.

The most dominating factor in India at present, however, is the condition of our Imperial finances since the out-break of the War. Almost every war has been more or less a foster-parent of protective tariff in three different ways. In the first place, the cessation of international trade, complete or partial, leads to the establishment of new industries which invariably demand protection when they are exposed to the risks of competition after the war is over. In the second place, the exaggeration of the national sentiment during wars creates a public opinion in support of protection to national industries. In the third place, the burden of armaments and munitions leads to enormous public expenditure which has to be met by any method of taxation that lies ready to hand, and customs duties are always looked upon as the most accessible source of revenue in times of war. The Napoleonic War created protection in America and Continental Europe, the American Civil War led to extreme protectionism in that country, the Franco-German War was responsible for high and all-round protection in both those countries, and the last war has brought about the same result almost in every country, not excepting India. Our tariff which was on a purely revenue basis till 1914, has been modified several times during and after the war, and although the action of the Government was solely based on a desire for revenue, it has become protective in certain respects. Thus our cotton piece-goods so long denied the benefit of protection in spite of our persistent demand have now come to enjoy a protection of 7½% duty, sugar 15%, manufactured

tobacco 75%, iron and steel manufactures 11%, paper and paste-board 11%, dyes and colour 11% and some other articles even a higher rate. Again, customs duties which produced only 14% of the Imperial revenue in 1909-10—1913-14, contributed nearly $\frac{1}{3}$rd of the same in 1921. Apart from the very conspicuous place which customs must thus occupy in our Imperial finances, there is another aspect of them which will be of extreme importance in our present financial troubles. The Imperial Government, as we know, depends at present for a part of its revenue, amounting to some ten crores of rupees, upon contributions from the provinces, which are themselves suffering from deficits in their budgets for some years now. To-day we are witnessing the not very commendable spectacle of mutual quarrels among the provinces as well as between the provinces and the Central Government over these contributions. This tends to undermine the position and dignity of the Central Government on the one hand, and create particularist sentiments among the provinces on the other. This serious obstacle to the normal progress of our political evolution can only be removed if the Imperial Government tries to fill up the gap in its finances by some independent method, without drawing upon the provincial revenues. It was exactly such a situation that led Prince Bismarck to draw most of his revenues from the customs duties, and his example may well be followed in India also.

Thus, we find that on three distinct grounds, sentimental, theoretical and financial, the claim for protection in India is based. For good or for evil, protection has come to be a feature of India's economic life. Let us now examine some of the more important aspects of protection in India. In the first place, it should never be forgotten that protection implies a burden of high prices imposed upon the consumers for the benefit of the home producers. Protection to young industries means nothing but that the nation taxes itself to encourage the industrial development with a view to larger benefits in the future. Undoubtedly some part of the burden of high prices will be counterbalanced by the rise in wages and salaries

due to increased demand for labour. But still, in a country like India, where there is so much friction in the economic world and economic forces take a long time to work out their full effects, a substantial burden will continue to press upon the ryots and the middle classes. In the second place, the mere starting of industries will be no guarantee that all of them will be able to become independent of tariff support within a reasonable period of time. Industries which are not suited to the peculiar environment and resources of India will never be successful. But, the experience of other countries shows that once a protective system is adopted, all sorts of industries put forward claims for protective support, and also that it is extremely difficult for governments to ignore such claims. In the third place, as List lays down and John Stuart Mill insists, protection must be temporary, and continued, say, for 20 or 30 years, after which the public must be relieved of their burden by the withdrawal of protection. Here, again, as we learn from history, once protection is given, vested interests are created which in course of time grow powerful enough to render futile all attempts at reduction or withdrawal of the protective tariff. Thus, once protection is launched, the necessary burden upon the consumers is almost invariably perpetuated. In order to avoid these dangers of a protective system, three principles must be remembered and applied in practice. In the first place, extreme caution will have to be exercised in the selection of industries which are suitable to the resources of the country and are expected to grow independent in course of time. In the second place, we should be careful to see that the rate of duty may be neither too low for effective protection, nor too high for the consuming public. In the third place, the period of protection must not be so much prolonged as to impose unnecessary burdens upon the public. Again, in the framing of the tariff itself, some delicate and extremely difficult problems will have to be confronted. It is commonly agreed that while import duties should be imposed on manufactured goods, raw-materials and machinery should be left on the free list so that the cost of production

in our industries might not be too high. Here, two special difficulties face us. In the first place, no hard and fast line of distinction can be laid down between raw-materials and manufactured goods, for finished products such as sugar or yarn or chemicals may be the raw-materials of other industries. In the second place, machines and implements themselves may be and should be manufactured in this country. Here also, the divergent claims of machine-making and machine-using industries will present almost insuperable difficulties. To deal with all these various aspects of the tariff problem, the recent Fiscal Commission has proposed the establishment of a permanent Tariff Board, after the examples of America and Australia. But whether we shall be able to find out the right type of men who will combine special training and knowledge with complete impartiality and disinterestedness is a question which will find its answer only in the experience of the future.

Then, again, we should never forget the connection between tariff and political corruption. Referring to this point in connection with American Tariff, one writer recently said, "every manufacturer is in effect told that instead of studying to organise his industry so as to meet the world's conditions of commerce, he must devote his energies to the work of lobbying among the politicians and officials of Washington." In America, Germany and England, the well-established democracies have failed to cope with the multifarious resources that vested interests bring to bear upon legislation, specially tariff legislation, which has the effect of filling up the purses of special classes at the expense of the general public. Democratic legislation or administration cannot follow any definite principles, but always depends upon the fickle changes of political parties and groups, and is regulated by the shifting currents of political power. Although some safe-guards will be provided by the establishment of an independent body like the Tariff Board, the real check to corruption must always come from an ever-vigilant and well-informed public opinion. In this connection, we should like to emphasise the urgent

necessity of encouraging the systematic study of economics throughout the country.

Imperial Preference.—Briefly speaking, Imperial Preference means that we should buy our articles from the United Kingdom rather than from foreign countries. In all discussions on this question, we generally fail to take account of one important point, namely, that the United K ingdom already enjoys a very large measure of natural preference in the Indian market. For, the expansion of trade between two countries depends much more upon intimate political and financial connections, or upon a vital contact between their civilisations, than upon an artificial factor like tariff relations. Politically and financially, our connections with Great Britain are of the most thoroughgoing character. Over and above this, British ideas of life, of comforts and luxuries and fashions, have for the last two centuries exercised a very powerful influence upon our national standards of civilisation. Hence, Great Britain has already enjoyed and will continue to enjoy a natural preference in our markets. This explains the predominant position she has secured for herself in our import trade. During the last century she had an almost complete monopoly in our import trade, which must have enabled her to charge monopoly prices in this country. With the advent of the 20th century this monopoly has been gradually broken by the entry of Germany, Japan, and very recently of America into our foreign trade. If Indian consumers are not to pay high monopoly prices for their imports, there should be an extension of our foreign trade with as many countries as possible so that we may have the advantage of competitive prices with respect to our imports. Further, as in the political world, so in the economic world, the progress and growth of a country is sure to be impeded if it is under the supreme dominance of one nation alone. The expansion of our commerce with foreign countries means not merely an increase of material wealth but also an increase of moral and intellectual wealth. In this view of the case, it is eminently desirable that during the period of her transition, India should nourish her national life

by drawing upon as many external sources as possible. Hence, we should be ill-advised to adopt any course that will arrest the process of our growing trade relations with foreign countries. Coming to the question of offering preferential rates to Great Britain, so far as that is within the range of practical politics, it may be pointed out that we shall have to adopt two different tariff-schedules, the lower one to be applied in the case of British imports and the higher one in the case of foreign imports. Now, as the imports from Great Britain compete with our indigeneous manufactures and also make up nearly two-thirds of our total imports, the preferential tariff, the lower one itself, must be sufficiently high so as both to afford the necessary protection and yield the necessary revenue. This by itself will impose a great burden upon the people. Now, if a higher tariff is applied in the case of foreign imports, the result will be that both foreign and British imports will command the same price in our market, and that price will be influenced by the higher tariff schedule, and not by the lower one. Accordingly, British merchants will profit by the higher rate so far as the sale of their goods is concerned, while they will contribute to our revenue only at the lower rate. Thus, there will be a double burden imposed on our consumers, one for the sake of protection to our industries, and the other for the sake of granting a subsidy to the British industries. Therefore, while the simple burden of protection to young industries makes us hesitate to adopt a protective tariff, it would be an almost absurd proposition to ask our poor ryots to undertake another burden in order to help the industries of the richest nation in the world. She may well be left to take care of her industries, and also to expand her commerce with India along natural channels.

Conclusion.—We should now conclude by making a few observations on the underlying forces that make for national greatness. Although tariff is one of the recognised methods of encouraging industries, we should remember that it is only one of the methods, and exercises only an exterior and artificial influence. Its only use lies in bringing out and

mobilising the vital forces of economic life and accelerating their work. It can speed them up, but can never create them. Hence, in order that tariff may properly serve its purpose, we must also create a restless spirit of enterprise and progress and a burning desire for efficient and worthy living among our people. With that end in view, the establishment of free and universal primary education must be immediately undertaken even at the cost of progress in other directions. In the second place, the ever-growing complexity of modern economic problems requires for their solution an increasingly large number of men who are systematically trained in commerce and also in applied sciences and technology generally. Germany's economic evolution for the last fifty years stand as the most brilliant example of what thorough and methodical training in commercial and technological sciences can do. The efforts of our Universities in this field must to a large extent be supplemented by our cotton-princes and iron-magnates who should not only have their own laboratories, but also contribute very liberally to assist all public or semi-public scientific and commercial institutions, where alone the real foundations of our industrial and commercial greatness may be truly and well laid. If we want to occupy again the same glorious position among the nations of the world as we once did in our brilliant past, we must thoroughly recognise the very important part which systematic training in the technological arts and sciences has played and the still more important part it is going to play in shaping the destinies of nations.

HIRENDRA LAL DEY.

THE NEED FOR SYNTHESIS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.

Read before the Sociological Association of the Lucknow University.

Two principles of political life.

Autonomy is one principle of Life and Socialization is another. Together they form a rhythm which harmonizes the progress of the universe. But owing to the operation of a number of causes one idea gets the upper hand at a particular period and the other goes down. Thus in politics internationalisation is the order of the day, just as nationalism was of the XIX Century, though even now the cry for national autonomy in some cases is urging the world to another war. The forces of individualization are most apparent in the discrediting of the state machinery by group entities. But side by side with the importance of groups is the necessity felt for federating them. A transition period is logically possible in this world of constant and rapid changes only from the point of view of a co-existence of numerous forces and without the domination of one special force over others.

In individual life.

The alternate play of centripetal and centrifugal forces is recognised in politics. In the life of the individual it corresponds with age. The rebel of sixteen smarting under the yoke of his systematic father, lectures on individualism, swears by Shelley and Bakunin, but changes his complexion when he becomes a father, reads Durkhein and lectures on social solidarity. He has become a pillar of society, and from the vantage position of experience he crushes the same individuality of his children for which he had so nobly stood up thirty years ago. He can not help it—his intellect is not deteriorating, he has seen life only, as he says. But he is in the grip of the rhythm of socialization.

The two movements are complete when they are complementary. In the progress of knowledge we find the same principle of alternate predominance of centralization and decentralization, individuation and socialization. And no wonder,

for knowledge is of life, vital, it must follow the law of life.

In the progress of knowledge

Every science arises out of practice. Even a pure science like Mathematics had its origin in rituals. Physics and other natural sciences arose when the primitive man wanted to move stones by a log of wood or to remove poison from the herbs by roasting them in fire, or when the arrow had to be shot straight by adding a feather to the stick. A late primitive man thus discovered the power of steam from the hot kettle, another utilized electricity from kite-flying. The science of navigation was evolved from fishing industries in rivers, inland seas and open seas. And industries of the 19th century begot the science of wealth. Experience is the father of discovery.

The concrete nature of experience Collection of facts and emancipation from their bondage by the discovery of relations between them.

Experiences are concrete. They are based upon facts which stand in need of co-relation. Each fact by itself is neither scientific nor historical, complete in its potentiality but incomplete in its *relativity*. A number of facts collected together is complete to the collector in so far as they elicit a certain kind of relation to him who is predisposed to them by the force of his subjectivism or inner idea. This inner idea is drawn from the store-house of his previous experiences. But we can imagine a primitive man looking at the world for the first time (he is not Plato's child though), for his Nature is nothing but a congeries of unlearned tendencies, he draws certain conclusions from his collection of facts without predilection. The conclusions once formed mark the first emancipation from matter-of-factness. His relations as yet smell of facts. Together they form his experience. Then as his experiences accumulate, his conclusions are tested and judged, if they fail before new facts the mind becomes alert and tries to find out new facts to corroborate his first conclusions. Sometimes corroborative facts are found, sometimes not. If they are found, the relations gain confidence and begin to be independent of further facts, till at last the abstract relation, judged, tested by and co-related to other relations arrived at by a similar process, receive the prestige

of a scientific generalisation. Thus the greater the amount of evidences, the greater is the independence of the abstract from the concrete. The concrete is thus being left in the lurch.

Traditional experience Emancipation through condensation.

Experiences from another point of view can be traditional. The Byzantine complexity of Yajna, the elaborate laws and regulations for the oriental artist, the rigidity of a Greek drama, and the arcana of domestic ritualism in an Indian or a Mongolian family, all can be traced to certain practices which have been bequeathed from one generation to another. The traditions are either oral, as in Indian music, or handicrafts, or written in codes. The emancipation of the abstract from the concrete takes place through condensation, rather than by co-relation proper, in other words, through a selective process of the most essential elements in the practices and by perpetuating them in a series of formulas or mantrams. The mantrams, when their meaning is alive are very convenient for avoiding elaboration. But in course of time their meaning is forgotten in a maze of commentaries, the perspective is lost and these mantrams become lullabys to croon the contented and the complacent into somnolescence.

The environmental character of experience, emancipation by adaptation and co-operation.

The concrete is the environment from yet another point of view. Here the concrete can not be eliminated so easily. Just as life conquers environment by adaptation and co-operation, so also a generalisation or a group of facts surmounts the singularity of a unique fact. A fellowship of facts does away with their individuality. A conquest of individuality is a declaration of independence on the part of the group. The charter of liberty is the law of life, co-operation.

Ethics is another barrier to the autonomy--psychological explanation.

Thus a body of knowledge is systematized and in the process of systematization is freed from the trammels of practice or tradition or necessity, or environment. But immediately after the breach of the first line of defence, a more formidable line is discovered as a barrier to autonomy. That

'what is' should be confused with "what should be" is a fact of that psychological state which is the result of experience and reflection. The individual mind is thinking more or less in the same line, not as yet apart from actual experience but in its continuation. Human spirit is one of adventure and therefore reflection is looking behind as well as looking ahead. The logic is simple—if a, b, c, d, are there and if their relation is one of seriality, then there is a natural tendency on the part of the human mind to expect e, f, g, h, and the rest to be in the some serial order. The human mind has been accustomed and therefore trained to the uniformity of nature in so far as the elementary facts like sunrise, sunset, rotation of the seasons, growth and death, are concerned. It is the march of a tendency slowly developing into a hard law, not as yet capable of forecasting the future, but having a parallel in the development of chance into probability, not yet full-grown into truth. This progress breeds expectation, expectation when it is declared legitimate by experience is a sure foot-hold of morality, unacted actions are sought to be acted upon by the principle of former actions. Naturally ethics is amalgamated with the observed facts of life by the adventurous spirit of man.

Divorce from ethics.

A great thinker comes and makes the issues clear. He takes stock of previous knowledge and organises the stores of vitality for fresh incursions into the realm of the infinite. Before Aristotle politics, ethics, jurisprudence were in a confused heap, before Karl Marx socialism was utopianism, before the author of Mitakshara, there was Manu, before the Code of Twelve Tables there was Divine Justice, before the Astronomer there was the Astrologer, before Roger Bacon there was the Magician, before the Doctor there was the village witch and the herb-dealer. This divorce from ethical considerations is the second historical step in the growth of scientific autonomy.

Era of specialisation.

Ethics being shelved out, human energy is now focussed at the subject itself. An era of specialisation dawns and we find philosophers and scientists cabined in their cells conning over the pages of ancient manus-

cripts and note-books full of present day observations, with eyes firmly set on the future which is in the crucible over a lamp. What amount of midnight oil is consumed, what wanderings in the Beagles, what explorations and tramps across the desert and the snow, what experiments! Man is abroad and ransacks Nature, she hides her secrets, man wrests them away, sometimes forcibly like an Amundsen or a Bury, sometimes mildly, by feinting defeat like a Pasteur or a Rogers. It requires an art greater than Ovid's to describe man's wooings of Nature.

Classification on the basis of an inner idea.

Along with work, the necessity for rest arises—along with specialisation, the necessity for arrangement. The facts are classified, the room is made ready and tidy. This classification looks like a repetition of the old process. The fundamental, *i. e.*, the psychological basis of classification is the inner idea which prompts the collection of a certain group of facts and neglects others. The inner idea is simply a question of life and death to the collector or the observer. The surge of the search is furnished by the sense of its unavoidability, inevitability and spontaneity. The scheme of things which he considers necessary or inevitable has got be completed. The work of completion might be a physically impossible task for him, but he believes in the faithful band of workers around him and after him who would complete the task left half-done or undone by him. He accepts one order of facts and negatives another by sheer necessity which sternly forbids an unnecessary waste. The Economy of Life calls for a correct declension in importance, the immediate, the inter-mediate and the simple mediate to create order out of a chaotic complexity of mutual dependence.

The inner idea on being corroborated becomes a generalisation and then a law.

Now that the facts are collected and collated, the inner idea, as of old seeks for a corroboration and elucidation. The relation governing the facts sanctioned by the inner idea becomes a generalisation, which tested again and again in the light of freshly acquired facts, observations, and experiences, assumes the dignity of a scientific law *so long as it remains*

unchallenged. The body of systematized knowledge has at last become a science, it seems, the abstract has transcended the concrete without being divorced from it.

Divorce from history.

It is science, no doubt, but is it autonomous? Not yet. It has yet to be divorced from history, yet to be made realistic. Some moment, very conveniently the present has to be snatched out of the flow of time, some point is to be marked in space, as some sequence is to be noted in causality. Upon this tripod the pure science is to stand out of the continuous march of events. Estimates can be two-fold, real and historical. Generalisations before they wear the ermine and ascend the woolsack of infallibility robe themselves in the parti-coloured dresses of a pageantry and march along with the show of events. Generalisations before they attain the dignity of a law are historical—they are concerned as yet about the thing, more so than with the thing in itself. But concentration is lost in a panorama, specialization is impossible in a pageantry for the perspective can not easily afford to be mindful of the detail. The law of the thing in-itself is merged in the law and order of the march. The individual soldier is not recognised when his battalion is marching past, his individual steps are not heard in the monotonous tramp, his bugle is not heard in the song of the march, except perhaps to the eyes and the ears of the beloved who stands out in the balcony. Thus does the pure scientist stand out on the balcony of his laboratory, picks out the individual incident from the general, makes it discontinuous for the sake of a scientific necessity, holds it fixed in space, time, and causality, holds it there perhaps too long. The soldier who stays behind is dismissed from the regiment. An individual fact, thus fixed, is divorced from the continuity of reality. It is a necessity for a science to be autonomous.

Scientific abstraction, the concept of the normal.

Thus science has created an abstraction so far. Abstraction calls forth an orientation. It demands new terms and new concepts. One such is the concept of the normal. The normal is not the average though related to it. It is not real though it approxi-

mates to reality. It is not the ideal, though it tends toward that viciously. It is essentially an artificial product created by the necessity for understanding the abstraction. Thus in actual life we have a black dog, a white dog, a faithful, or an unfaithful dog, a big or a small dog—all from different points of view. In common language, the point of view qualifies the description of the dog. But in the science of Zoology, where we have to study the anatomy of the dog, the blackness or the whiteness, the faithfulness or the unfaithfulness, the bigness or the smallness are all irrelevant. Only the dog, devoid of all such particularities arising out of human points of view, is the important thing, the sole unit of observation. But no such dog exists in the mind of the man in the street, it is only the creation of the scientist, of scientific necessity.

The normal is therefore essential if science is to go ahead and conquer fresh fields and pastures anew. It is the alphabet of science which builds its language first and ultimately its rhythm. The concept of normal value is the first stone set up by the scientific economist. It is the corner-stone of all Economic laws. It assists the scientific economist to explain new facts. It is the nucleus—the thread round which crystallisation sets in, in such diverse geometrical forms.

The necessity of the concept

But logically speaking, the science is not yet perfectly autonomous. The inner idea or the subjectivism of the scientist has to be eliminated to make the science truly objective. In the first place, as the generalisation slowly eliminates the particular or assimilates it, the scientist wants to shake off the shackles of his inner idea—his likes and dislikes, his predilections and predispositions. A disinterested objectivity is his ideal. Possibly, in so far as his selection goes, his subjectivism sticks to him. Even a scientific critic of literature takes up Shakespeare and not Guy Boothby. So far, the self or the subject is a selective agency very broadly. But once the selection is finished, once the immediate and the simpler relations out of a

Divorce from subjectivity, how it is effected.

wider complexity and a crowd of facts are established, the means proves an obstacle. A belief is apt to be more erroneous than a rational choice. The scientist takes special care against himself, *i.e.*, against his own concrete and human points of view. He is his own worstenemy. He positively disbelieves himself—therefore he first seeks the help of instruments which have no mind and consequently can be trusted. Instruments are being perfected—perfection in instruments means not simply greater accuracy and a greater capacity to compass a growing complexity, but a greater ability to resist the influence of the local, the particular and the extraneous considerations. In the second place, the man in the street is subpoenaed as a witness. He has no interest in the work of the scientist, except a distant, ultimate, and indirect one through humanity. His vision is not coloured by the subjectivism of the scientist—he is free—he is blunt—the blunter he is—the better for the scientist. When the instruments and the man in the street—the modern substitute for a primitive man, bear the scientist's observations out, then and then only is the scientist satisfied. So in the avoidance of this subjectivism the services of two democratical and concrete agencies like the instrument and the man in the street are utilized. This perpetual self-imposed censorship and a constant awareness of the Achilles' heel which is lying open to a stray shaft, teaches humility to the scientist. It is curious to observe that an attempted avoidance of a psychological state—of an attitude of mind, is given the name of a *scientific* attitude.

The confusion between scientific laws and natural laws.

Scientific generalisations by thus being tested and retested, by thus being freed from the inner idea, partake of the nature of Natural Laws. They are supposed to be universal and immutable—so they can embrace any order of facts. Any aberration is not tolerated and is sought to be explained away on other grounds. The ground specially selected is a moral one. Thus in Economics, after having discovered an economic being, the concepts of normal value, marginal utility, representative form, after having discovered laws of maximum satisfac-

tion with minimum effort, of diminishing utility and diminishing return, of population and of comparative costs and after basing them upon the law of competition which is supposed to be as permanent and immutable as any law of the Medes and the Persians, the scientific economist relegates a fresh order of facts and laws based upon barter, customs and ethical competition to the limbo of a lower order of civilisation, the height and the lowness of civilisation being solely measured by the standard to which the scientist is accustomed. The stray shaft which strikes the heel is an immoral shaft for it disturbs scientific complacency. This is human nature, no doubt, but it shows how much the scientist is still dependent upon the concrete, upon ethics, and upon his belief. A proper scientific attitude (which is a misnomer logically, for a scientist has no attitude) would bow to a new fact or a group of facts in all reverence and humility.

Forces of revolt against scientific abstraction.

Thus a pure science has been built up by intellect by eschewing the concrete in the shape of the practices and traditions, the ethics, the history and lastly the self. But all these are living factors, stern realities, facts as much as the so-called scientific facts. They rebel, not alone for being ignored, but also for being tyrannized over in return by intellect which serves its function by reducing everything to a mechanism—the like producing the like. Any disturbance of this mechanical classification is considered unethical, unreal even. History, utility, ethics, and new facts all join the forces of revolt against this intellectuality of science which is nothing but a mechanistic concept of the universe in camouflage. Man can never remain wedded to a sheer necessity for ever long.

Fictions and compromises.

The seeds of the revolution are the new facts which crop up. The old laws want to explain them away; when they fail, legal fictions are created which are half way houses to lodge them. Such fictions are compromises and compromises are patch-works done by chance and not by rational choice. The fundamental idea is no longer the subjectivism of the scientist, but the law itself.

The task becomes easier. When in economics, the oriental system of distribution, production, and exchange is discovered, when the inequity in the distribution of wealth under the western capitalistic system, the treatment of labour as a commodity, its lack of bargaining power, its chronic unemployment are observed—they give rude shocks to the old classical school which at last stoops to conquer. Its policy of conciliation with the irreconcileables is the policy of state legislation arbitration-boards, Whitley Councils, welfare schemes, insurance policies, profit-sharing schemes, and such other reformist proposals of permeation which leave untouched the existing social solidarity. They serve only to mitigate the rigour of the attack—the weak facts are won over, but the strong ones remain outside the system and find out that reformist policies only perpetuate the old system, that they are at best curative and not preventive. The new facts set up a new order which the old law finds it hard to recognise. But their belligerency is recognised in the birth of the historical school which states that as different conditions prevail, different laws should also be formulated. Variety is no longer banned—on the other hand it is respected.

The change in the basis of classification.

The basis of classification of the new facts undergoes a change on account of this new impact; though the change is not perceived. This time also, the new classification looks like a repetition of the old process, but really it is not. We have seen that classification is necessary for the intellect to put the house in order, it is a convenient division of labour, the selection of the immediate and the negation of the simple mediate, the fixing up of the useful particular in time, space and causality out of a maze of mutual dependence. But the new purpose is not orderliness for the sake of orderliness alone, but also for further replenishing the house. The danger is obvious, in an abracadabra of detailed specialisation the organic unity of knowledge is lost sight of. The interlocking of phenomena demands an interlocking of their systems of knowledge. In the meantime a new order of facts gives

rise to derivative sciences—they press on and on. Along with the complexity of new facts, the dependence of the living creature upon an inseparable environment and his place in the recurrent and the non-recurrent pageantry of life make its impossible for any science to base itself upon an intellectual convenience alone. Convenience is not a suitable basis for all times. It is not final and hence it is strained by new facts. The basis of classification becomes once more the inner idea of the first scientist. But this inner idea is more vital than a subjective predilection—it is now a matter of rational choice, it now represents a point of view towards life in general—the interest of classification now changes itself into a philosophy. Where convenience fails, where intellectualism fails, philosophy begins.

Changes in the nature of scientific laws.

Necessarily scientific generalisations, or laws as they are called, change. From chance, from a bare summary or a description of facts they rise to certitude, but not yet to truth. The following incidents in the character of the new transformations of scientific generalisations are to be noticed.

(1) They partially retain the character of generalisations.

Probability develops into rational belief.

Generalisations are at best probabilities or degrees of certainty in our judgments. The certainties have ceased to vary from individual to individual and the non-rational influences of early environment have been eliminated. Thus a certain amount of objectivity in the occurrence of events has been reached. But the change is indicated in the intrusion of another kind of necessity for ascertaining an equal and a comparative degree of rational justification for our anticipation of events. "Clearly, the degree of rational justification must vary with the kind and amount of knowledge we have of the operative conditions which determine the event in question." Every judgment is an event in the scientist's mental history and to that extent subjective, but all intelligent judgments, certain, probable, possible, are based on a knowledge of objective necessity, objective probability and objective possibility. According to the

standpoint taken up, causality and uniformity are at the basis of all belief—though belief in order to be a certitude will have to be based upon objective realities and tested by objective standards.

Consciousness—element is introduced

(2) Consequently the transformations are more deliberate—in other words, there is a greater element of consciousness here, than in the previous generalisations. The inner idea has become conscious. Consciousness is like the instinct and other unlearned tendencies, a selecting agency at nearly all times. Of course its selective character—which first came out when the individual came in contact with the environment, is emphasised by the interest of the scientist. Consciousness now restricts activities and inhibits tendencies to stray aside from these interests. But the interests are no longer of biological adaptation—they are dynamic and progressive, *i.e.*, creative.

Wider generalisation

(3) Generalisations now embrace a wider range of facts. In other words they pay greater attention to the individuality of facts—their uniqueness. For each particularity is a recognition of the principle of variety, which is a triumph of the principle of Life and a negation of that of mechanism (the like producing the like), as well as that of radical finalism (the production after a pattern). And if the foundational fact of our knowledge is, in the language of the philosophy of Humanism "a concrete universal, an unambiguous and unique fact of an individual character," then the fresh acquisition of each new fact or order of facts, supplied by the patient scientist paves the way to the humanisation of science through an attempt to correlate it with the established generalisations; in other words, through curiosity, research and the respect attached to the fruits of research, *i.e.*, through the discovery of new facts. But still the scientific generalisation remains ever open to challenge. Probability, *i.e.*, rational belief is thus far satisfied with "those varying degrees of assertiveness which are co-related with corresponding degrees of rational support which the scientific

judgment finds in the available evidence." But the margin between Probability and Reality still remains lost to the public eye. Thus we see that scientific laws through observation and classification and judgment have tried to approach Truth, but have found only varying degrees of probability. Simple subjective belief cured by objective considerations is a quality of Truth but it is not Truth itself. Belief is at best a point of view, entirely subjective, reason in science has been at best a selective agency that concerns itself with the objective. As we have seen that inner idea which has now attained the dignity of a scientific conviction fails to find out a common platform for both the subjective and the objective standpoints from which we will be able to grasp truth in all its fullness; the simple reason of this failure is that the scientist himself can be the subject or the object. For, "it is not enough to think of the self as a sort of thing that establishes a merely accidental and external relation between what knows and the object known." The object has no existence independently and outside the relation in which it is known. "It is plain" as James says "that we individually are ourselves objects within the general system of experience as much as other things we know." But the scientist in his holy terror of the subjective fails to understand this—he fails to discover the *continuum*. So the scientist who appreciates this position, however sub-consciously, is in despair. Despair makes the scientist claim more for his science than is properly its due. And despair makes Panini say that Brahma can be attained through grammar—that the whole truth is in it, it lends Haeckel the courage to say that he has solved the riddle of the universe and that he can create souls in the laboratory. It is despair that sets the scientist against philosophy and religion. It is a failure to discover a common platform for the subjective point of view and the objectivity of outlook that lodges the Sciences and the Humanities in two opposite wings of a University building, and separates the two courses of studies while the cause of truth would have been better served by fusing the two departments together. But despair kills

creativeness and creativeness can not be killed if knowledge is to progress. Creativeness needs fresh adjustment. Thus far adjustments have been made in two different ways.

(A) By relativity:—Some blind men went to see the elephant in the palace. One of them touched the trunk, another the legs, yet another the tusk. The keeper had said that it was an elephant. They came home and compared notes. One of them said that it felt like a soft long thing, another a hard curved thing, a third—a strong fleshy post. So they quarrelled till at last a man with eyes came in their midst and told them that it was neither the soft long thing—the trunk, nor the hard curved thing—the tusk, nor was it a strong fleshy post—the leg. It was all these things together plus something else. It was the elephant. The man with eyes had generalised in two ways (1) in so far as he had combined all the peculiarities or all the different points of view; and (2) in so far as he came to the conclusion that it was the elephant by comparing the reports of the blind men with his own previous experiences. He simply gave the name and co-related all previous knowledge on the point. But the man with the eyes if he had seen the elephant in the zoo instead of hearing reports about it from blind men would have, at least should have, given the character of that particular elephant whether it was a grand figure or not. He had not complete data. Complete data might have given him grounds to form a judgment. And a judgment alone would have done justice to a complete vision of the elephant. Therefore, a complete vision is objective description as well subjective judgment. Thank God! the man with eyes was no scientist, therefore he was saved the trouble of finding a shelter behind the two apparently contradictory points of view. For as we know the scientist's mind is the story of a conflict between his ego and an attempt to get rid of it.

The reality behind the subjective and the objective points of view.

So the problem can alone be solved if we discover that ultimate reality "which is neither subject nor object, but is the fact of significance which embraces them both and in which, they

are, as it were, poles which we distinguish only in reflection," in other words, if we understand with Kant that our observations in time, space and causality are constructions of reflexions.

Einstein's point of view.

It seems that Einstein has caught this point. In the words of Haldane, "He has denied both space and time and has pronounced them to consist merely in certain relations belonging to knowledge between the observer and what he observes, which vary in shape and measurement with the situation and conditions of the observer himself, depending as they do for their significance and for their reality also on whether the observer is taken to be at rest or motion. . . Thus time and space are varying relations established as such through interpretation on the part of observers vaying in situation. Einstein's basis is called the four dimensional manifold." In the words of Lord Haldane again, "It is antecedent to space and time, but has some qualities analogous to their qualities—these qualities do not exist in independence. They imply each other in the entirety in which alone they are actual, such an entirety has as its nature to be activity, a passage of mere events, a multiplicity of world-lines of change. What we are primarily aware of is thus only change in events not yet differentiated into objects with shapes and measurements. But it is the foundation of physical reality and it is upon and out of it that there are developed in our minds space and time and the objects whose relations and whose relations to the observer constitute the meaning and the reality alike of space and time. They thus become actual but only relatively so." So at most we arrive at a relative actuality of time and space based upon a *continuum* which is beyond the subject and the object.

Teleology.

(B) The second form of adjustment is by Teleology. That existence is alone to be conceived through its meaning and that outside meaning for knowledge, actual or possible, being has no significance and no reality—is almost a truism of philosophy. When that meaning is postponed till the end, when the object is expected to complete its nature, it is called teleology. This

reference to the end is perpetual. Its perpetuity takes its stand upon *(a)* psychology—the what for and the wherefore of it is a question that troubles everybody from an Omar Khayam to the man in the street. A big note of interrogation is writ large across the scientist's firmament. This psychological fact is at the root of all enquiries—it is as primal as an instinct. It allies itself with other instincts to form what is called the instinct of workmanship or creativeness—*(b)* upon consciousness—consciousness, in the first place increases the efficiency of the brain by a selective process which puts pressure "in favour of those of its performances, which make for the most permanent interests of the brain's owner and by constantly inhibiting the tendencies for straying aside." Consciousness in the second place, brings real ends on the stage of thought. In the words of James, "cognition, as a purely cognitive form of being is anti-psychological, consciousness is a fighter for ends. Consciousness will help an unstable brain to compass its proper ends. The movements of the brain *per se* yield the means of attaining those ends mechanically, but only out of a lot of other ends which are not the proper ends. The brain is only an instrument of possibilities, but of no certainties. It is consciousness that reinforces the favourable possibilities and represses the unfavourable or the indifferent ones." Thus we see that the element of consciousness pushes probability further into the lap of truth and creates the philosophical necessity for applied sciences which are avowedly for realising certain ends. Scientific spirit can ill-afford to do away with this element of consciousness which vitalises the mechanical processes of generalisations, which selects the relevant from out of a swarming continuum and renders the barren abstraction of a scientific detachment human and homely. 'Consciousness' is imagination in common parlance—it is the inner idea we have talked about.

Predictability and practicability.

The importance of compassing an end appears most in the necessity for accurate prediction of future events. Practicability is very often predictability. We know how science has laborious-

ly built up general rules which make a constant attempt to describe the sequence of phenomena in all cases. Those rules make the forecasts possible. The greater their probability, the greater is the chance of a right prediction. But an infinite narration of brute facts can never make a forecast possible. As M. Poincare says "science is built up of facts as a house is built up of stones, but an accumulation of facts is no more a science than a heap of stones is a house." Prediction is alone possible on the strength of a uniformity in law—but facts are various. What facts yield at best is "the assertion of an implication which is expressed in terms of the normal under certain conditions." . . . . Such implications are the subject matter of pure sciences. But as Pigou says "It is in their fundamental aspect as an organon of laws and not in their superficial aspect as a description of facts, that the realistic sciences have bearing upon the conduct of affairs. The establishment of such an organon adapted and ready for application to particular problems is the ideal." Such an organon, in Pigou's opinion, even when impotent to offer guidance, can check misguidance from "the false assertion of causal connection between observed consequences and observed antecedents through failure to observe some relevant antecedent" and secondly from "a like false assertion through failure to observe some relevant consequent." Such an organon can also provide positive information in the form of a qualitative though not quantitative analysis of the kind of relation subsisting between causes and effects.

Pitfall of radical finalism.

But the proper construction of the idea of an end should take care of the pitfall of a radical finalism. Radical finalism apparently represents the organised world as we are seeking to represent. Therefore, we should take all the greater care against it. In finalism there is no harmony—it is a monody after a pattern, it admits of no discord, therefore it exists more as a principle than as a fact. Whereas our harmony pays great respect to the uniqueness or the singularity of each fact, "finalism is revealed only in mass-tendencies." To speak of an end as an outside goal is to

predicate that which is unknown. But if we conceive of the end as imbedded in the past and as creating the present, in fact if we take it as a conscious purpose, then and then only have we got a right to predict the march of events. The only sense of teleology therefore is the continuation of the life process into divergent lines of evolution, rendered conspicuous by consciousness and producing similar types. The end is in the process—the road " is created by travelling—it is the same old Greek concept of the unity of thinking with the thought which thinks itself and knows itself alone."

Pitfall of extreme subjectivism.

Another pitfall is to be avoided—that of extreme subjectivism or objectivism as a result of the failure to conceive an end. Great scientists have fallen into it—many of them have come to believe in supernaturalism and the grossest kind of materialism. They arise from the same mentality. But they are the progenies of despair, despair in failing to adjust the subjective and the objective points of view; in one case the scientist escapes through the chimney into a Rosicrucian atmosphere and in the other through the cellar. Solid reality is left in both cases. In one case it is the mind that creates things and in the other there is no mind. It is no adjustment of the points of view which we are seeking to establish, it is a failure pure and simple.

The teleological construction of synthesis

Thus, to summarise, teleology is based upon psychology, upon consciousness, upon the need for explanation of new facts, for criticism and for anticipation, which is a most human need. A right construction of teleology with full regard to all the above factors, coupled with the fundamental humanism of the relativity of knowledge with its proper reverence to the uniqueness and at the same time the universality of each fact, will cure subjectivity of its uncertainty and the objectivity of its detachment from consciousness. This is the much needed synthesis of two opposite points of view. The synthesis is a psychological state and not simply a point of view. It is also real in so far as it is in the domain of practice. It is just

beyond the realm of intellect, as psychologists understand it—it is just where man is complete with his intellect, emotion, will and instincts.

Let us now take into account some of the considerations which have already emphasised this idea of synthesis:—

The idea of organism.

(A) It really looks like an irony of Fate that Bacon, the father of Inductive Sciences wrote more than centuries ago, "the divisions of the sciences are not like different lines that meet in one angle, but rather like the branches of a tree that join in one trunk." This tree is the tree of Life, the tree of knowledge. For life-organic is one—in action, though in passivity it can be separated, from the dynamic point of view, which the idea of evolution has taught us, "the organic-life is the only item in a study of the order of Nature which is the avowed object of science to discover."

Organism again stands for mutual dependence upon the environment. This dependence is functional or active, as opposed to a mechanical mixture or an artificial classification. The relation between organism and environment is extremely close, "to separate them is to kill them and turn biology into necrology—environments are diverse and changeful, but for each kind of organism there is an indispensable minimum of supplies and influences, apart from which it can not develop." Thus every science is more or less related to another through functional dependence—for knowledge is of Life and Life is of knowledge. How this functional dependence is rendered a constructive functioning by the introduction of the element of consciousness which at once removes the limitations of a biological analogy will appear clear in the words of James, "Survival, which is a supreme fact of progressive evolution, we treat as an absolute end—'a sort of actual should be' presiding over the physiological reactions. But considered from this point of view, all that can be said of them is that if they occur in a certain way, survival will, as a matter of fact, prove to be their incidental consequence. In a word, survival can enter into a purely physiological, *i.e.*,

scientific discussion, only as an hypothesis made by an onlooker about the future.....But the moment you bring consciousness into their midst, survival ceases to be a mere hypothesis. No longer is it 'if survival is to occur, then in such and such a way must brain and other organs work.' It has now become an imperative decree "survival shall occur—and therefore organs must go to work." We really want such an imperative decree from science. The whole world is looking up to science for a universal betterment—not for aeroplanes and submarines, but for such a guidance which will discover real ends to human sight.

The idea of historical continuity.

(B) Each science is an eddy in the waters of Life which is one mighty current. Each science is an heir of the ages. Even Comte failed to appreciate the pageantry of Life. For Comte, the pageantry was a heirarchy, starting from morality, which in his opinion was the synthetical terminus of the whole scientific procession, then Sociology, then Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Astronomy and Mathematics all in a linear order—the last being the most simple, the most abstract and the most independent science. But in a pageantry, the impression is that of unity, that of an organic wholeness. Thus we see that evolution is giving us another idea which links up different events in a continuity. History had to be discarded at first, when the need was for scientific anatomy, history is now building up a scientific synthesis.

In the meanwhile science is also recognising its limitations. The most interesting thing about modern science is its modesty. It knows that theory is a theory and a hypothesis at best a working model, a symbol which is necessary, an intellectual counter, not the reality. It knows that in giving a descriptive account of facts "it begins not at the beginning—that is impossible, but from something 'given' which it does not explain, which in the last resource it can not explain,"—let us only remember the case of the primitive amoebae.

Thus the autonomy of the sciences is being broken up internally and externally. It is broken by metaphysics which

criticises the terms and the assumptions, and seeks to give us a complete and humanistic view of knowledge in and through the agency of consciousness and the idea of the concrete which is at once unique and universal, *i. e.*, through relativity of knowledge, and through teleology; it is being broken by biology which supplies us with the idea of the unity of Life—with its idea of progressive adaptation, correlated variation, its dependence upon the environment; it is being broken by history which means infinite variability and co-eternal continuity. Thus the need is felt for a synthetic view which will at once be metaphysical and biological and historical. That need is in the nature of scientific knowledge. The thing to be done is to render it conscious. Man alone can do it. He has been doing it—and this is why our heart is glad when we find man demanding his own and refusing to be treated as a commodity, when we find that the idea of God is being humanised, when we find that the scientific idea of an all absorbing state is being disintegrated into group entities which are vital and human. The whole world is in the grip of the rhythm of socialisation. If this grip continues for sometime the world will be a fit habitation for a Nara Narayan—ere long the old gods will come back from their exile and reverberate the atmosphere with the rumbling thunder of their guffaws. Heidenstam wanted a new god to be born—we would simply want the same old human gods back. It is unreality all round us. This Nestle's milk pot of unreality untouched by hand, is much too much with us, we want something concrete and complete. We can not discard the concrete, for the concrete will not let us go. It will follow us like our shadow which we can not sell away for our Life. We are not demanding a pedantry of facts; we are demanding an obsession of that reality which is full-blooded.

D. MUKERJI.

THE LAST EXILE OF SITA.

PART II.

SCENE 1.—A Street.

People are bustling to go, all carrying loads of one sort or another. One man with a large tray of sweetmeats bumps into a milkmaid with a pile of brass pots, and both loads are upset with a clatter on the ground.—

Sweetwala.—(*Not seeing the woman*)—Haven't people got eyes in their heads?

Milkmaid.—(*Not seeing sweetwala*)—The clumsy knave has spilt all my good milk.

(*Both turn and face each other simultaneously*).

Sweetwala.—O, you great buffalo, look at all my sweetmeats in the dust.

Milkmaid.—You blind son of a bat. Can't you see better than to walk straight into a person?

Sweetwala.—Blind yourself. You'll have to pay for these too!

Milkmaid.—Not a pice. Pay for your dirty sweetmeats? It does n't make *them* any worse however often they get dropped in the dust, for no one would be such a fool as to eat them and poison himself.

Sweetwala.—Call that milk, do you? You'd never have sold that watery stuff; folk aren't going to pay money for what they can get for nothing at the well.

Milkmaid.—You dare say that, do you?

(*She rushes at Sweetwala and they begin to fight. Enter Dasi who separates them*).

Dāsi.—Stop that, will ye! There is no time for fighting to-day. It's all hands to work for the King's festival.

Milkmaid.—King's festival? There is no festival to-day, you old hag, so hold your tongue.

Dasi.—I will not hold my tongue, for it's true as your standing there like a gaby that the King's going to have a great horse sacrifice, the mightiest big show that ever was in the land. Orders came out in the morning that every man-jack of you are to turn to and prepare for it.

Sweetwala.—O, you say so, indeed. And what is the king going to make a sacrifice for ?

Dasi.—You silly folks, don't you know what the horse-sacrifice is held for ?

Milkmaid.—Ha! She thinks she is the only one who knows it. My haughty tempered old girl, isn't it done to assert sovereignty among neighbouring princes ?

Dasi.—Yes, though Ram is not an ambitious king.

Sweetwala.—Then isn't he going to pray God to absolve him of his oath and take another wife ?

Dasi.—No, that is none of his purpose. You know that Ravan was a Brahman, don't you, though he was as black at heart as he was high in birth. Rama killed him for the welfare of mankind, but of late his mind has been troubled because of Brahmhatya.

Milkmaid.—I see it now. Though I would not rant like a priest, tell me, how can he hold a horse-sacrifice without a wife ? I well remember, though I was only a child at the time, when the great Dasratha performed the same rite my father told me that a horse-sacrifice could not be held without a wife.

Dasi.—That is the King's own affair. What have you got to do with it any way ? It is enough for you that he will have it.

Sweetwala.—I know that he will take another wife.

Dasi.—Your brains are made of saw-dust. Don't you know it's full twelve years since he exiled Sita and that he has been fondly pining for her all that time, though like as not she's dead.....poor soul. Did he even for an instant think of taking another wife ? Nay he always repulsed any one who ever suggested it.

Milkmaid.—O, get along with you. Here comes another bumping ass like you, crawling under his heavy load.

Sweetwala.—Hi! Man what a huge lump of gold! Where are you going with that?

Cooli.—Hey, what a weight it is, (*putting it down*) I'm really dead already and I haven't it half way to the Palace.

Milkmaid.—To the Palace is it, you're going? Ay, I thought there'd be no one rich enough but the King to buy all that. But what on earth is he going to do with it?

Cooli.—He's having an image made of Queen Sita—her he banished twelve years ago at the time of the famine. You see it is like this, he can't make up his mind to take another wife and as he's got to have a wife of some sort or another he is going to have a gold one.

Dasi.—Well, now, isn't that like the fine gentleman he is? Even after all these years he is so faithful to the memory of Sita, he can't stand the thought of another woman. I know what his love was. You common folk, who count your wives only as goods and chattels, can't understand it.

Sweetwala.—None of your fine airs here woman. I can understand well enough I'd rather have a wife of gold than a sharp-tongued hussy of your like, any way.

Cooli.—Well, I must on. (*getting up*) His Majesty is so impatient, he stands there the whole day watching the goldsmith's work. He has got out all the pictures of Sita he ever had made—and there was a good pile of them you may remember—and he will have her made to the very life. Sure the face is already so like the lady that I remember well, that were it not for the gold colour of it, you would think it was about to speak.

(*Lifts up load and goes off*).

Dasi.—Do you say so indeed? Well, I'm coming with you to have a look at it.—My dear departed mistress, almost come to life again. O, there never was a lady like her and there never will be again.—A golden image of her.....(*Exit*).

Milkmaid.—(*Picking up pots and going off*).

Off you go old wife. What a tongue she's got?

Sweetwala.—(*Picking up tray and going off.*)

I say a good riddance of bad rubbish.

(*Exit both*).

CURTAIN.

SCENE II.—The Hermitage.

Valmiki and Kusha and Lava at their books.

Valmiki.—Now you have said your lessons for the day
And sung your morning hymn, you may go out
And play as children should—and yet no more
Are you two children, but quickly growing
To strong and manly youths. What age are you?

Kusha.—Our mother told us only yesterday.
Twelve years it is since we were born to her.

Valmiki—Is it as much? Twelve years?—It must be so—
Twelve to a child seems to an old man one—
How swiftly runs the time. But you may go.
I would not tire the new fresh minds of you
With ancient ramblings.

Lava and Kusha—(*Going out*) Good morrow, Father.

(*Exit Lava and Kusha*).

Valmiki.—(*Watching them go*).

Fine manly boys. I am much exercised
To train them now they are grown to princely youths
In all those arts befitting their royal birth.
As babes and children, than this gentle place
No better nursery for them could be found.
Than their sweet patient mother who could be
A better guide and friend? But now their due
Is to be given knowledge of war and courts
And many things no woman nor old man
Can ever hope to teach. But who comes here?

Messenger.—

Art thou the saint Valmiki whose wide-spread fame
Is common discourse?

Valmiki.— Valmiki is my name,
But the World's honour did I never seek.—
What is thy quest?

Messenger.— By Rama I am sent
To bid all people in the kingdom come
To a Horse Sacrifice that will be held
Within two months from now.

Valmiki.—
Are all invited?

Messenger.—Father, every one, It is to be
The grandest festival, the mightiest feast
That ever has been held for countless years.
All the worlds Kings and Princes will be there
With golden chariots and teams of elephants
All trapped with precious jewels.—Come thou must
Thou shalt not see again such glorious sights.

Valmiki.—My son, the richest shows of this our world
Seem only cheap and tawdry to the mind
That sees the eternal spirit. For myself
I may or may not come.—But do thou go
And ask the two young men; they will rejoice
Exceedingly to go and see the court
And all the dazzling sights thou speakest of.
They are without. I thank thee for thy pains.
Son, Farewell. My peace be ever with thee.

(*Messenger makes salaam and goes*).

Now are my doubts resolved. How quickly came
Solution to my problem. To the Court
The youths shall go, the heirs to Raghu's throne
Although they know it not. And there perhaps
The King will recognise them as his sons
Although he thinks him childless. Noble Sita
Would never send him any sign or word
That would disturb his mind with thought of her.

Sita.—(*Entering in distress*)
O, Father hast thou heard the messenger

Who brings such news that makes them all rejoice
But fills *my* heart with dread.

Valmiki.— What mean you daughter
Is it not good that thy two sons should take
This opportunity to see their father's court
Perhaps be favoured, even recognised?

Sita.—If it is as I fear, then Sita's sons
Will find no favour now in Rama's sight.
For is it not, that for this sacrifice
The king must have a wife, that so it be
With all due rites performed?

Valmiki.— It is so daughter.

Sita.—O, now is Sita's case worse than before
For then whatever bitter trials befell
Were tempered with the knowledge of his love,
Faith in Rama's constant love, my one support!
If Sita is forgot and in her place
Another holds his heart,. ....then am I dead
Indeed.

Valmiki.— I know not what to say
In this thy latest trial. But do thou let
Thy sons go to the King, they cannot fail
To charm him with their beauty and their skill.
Here come they eagerly to ask thy leave.

(*Enter Kusha and Lava full of boyish excitement.*)

Kusha.—Mother, a messenger has just now come from the King's court to invite us all to go the horse sacrifice.

Lava.—He says all the Kings of the earth and princes and princesses and queens will be there.

Kusha.—And horses and elephants and camels all decked with jewels.

Lava.—And there's going to be such a feast, so gorgeous that no one has ever seen the like before.

Kusha.—He says the Queen is all of gold

Lava.—A golden Queen, mother, head, legs, arms, clothes all of pure gold and eyes made of jewels.

Kusha.—He had her made just like his wife whom he banished a long time ago, the messenger says.

Lava.—And do you know, mother, he was so fond of her that though every one says she's dead he refuses to marry any one else instead?

Sita.—(*brightening up*)
What do you say my sons? A golden image of his former wife?

Lava.—Yes, isn't it wonderful?

Sita.—Yes, wonderful beyond all thought.
Now shall I be happy though the very heavens should fall.

Kusha.—And we shall all go to the palace to see it for ourselves, won't we mother?

Sita.—Yes, children, you may go.

Valmiki.—You shall go and sing your Ramayan before the King and all the kings assembled there shall hear of Rama's power and greatness. Do not accept riches of him or any reward nor make mention of your misfortunes in the forest. If he asks thy lineage, say Valmiki is your teacher and the only earthly father you have known. Give much study now to your singing so that when the great king hears you he will think there has never been a song so sweetly sung. Go now and practice it.

(*Exit Kusha and Lava*).

Sita.—O, Valmiki, how thankful is my heart
For this glad news. Now I can send my sons
In full assurance that my Ram will love them
For my sake as well as for their own.

Valmiki—Thou dost not more rejoice than I myself
To know that Rama yet loves thee faithfully.
I must go help the children with their song
That so the joyful end of all thy woe
May not be long.—

(*Exit. Curtain*).

SCENE III.

RAMA, LAKHSMAN, KINGS, MINISTERS, AND NOBLES.

Rama.—Ye Rajas, Maharajas, princes all
Of two boys do our Ministers bring news
Both twin alike in birth, manner and form,
Who sing heroic songs about the streets
And fill the air with the sweet melody
Of their most heavenly music. So much so
The people are enthralled and follow them
Like mad enchanted creatures, all forgotten
Business and duty; even food and sleep.
So by your leave this day I will arrest
The sacrifice's ordinary course
And with the wondrous music be refreshed
(*All nod assent*)
And lo they come.

Lava.— Victory to the King.

Kusha.—Long may he reign

Rama.— Hail, sweet children, hail!
Though clad in rags yet princely is their carriage.
We have heard much about your skill And now are grown impatient. Sing us a bit of your Ramayan.

(Lava and Kusha have sung.)

Koshalya.—What a soul-stirring song these boys have sung!
It conjures up for me my youthful days
And childhood's happiness carrying my mind
Backward over old age and sorrow, and all
The sadness that has intervened since Sita's
Banishment.

Lakhsman.—True, mother, charming is their music
But their appearance is no less enchanting.
How proud must be the father and the mother
Of such boys.

Koshalya.— I am enamoured with them
And could wish they were my own kinsmen.
Indeed there's something of my Rama's build,
And Sita's grace about these lovely boys.
(*Coming near to them.*)
Their limbs are strong and looking close I see
They can be none but Raghu's sons. Children
Where do ye dwell ?

Lava.—We dwell upon the banks of holy Ganga
Far from these princely pomps, and dazzling shows
Near Beethur with our Guru Valmiki
Our earthly father, and one only friend
Besides our mother

Koshalya.—Their eyes do shine like Sita's.
Tell me boys what is your Mother like ?

Kusha.—Our mother is called Sita, but they say
She is quite different from great Rama's wife.
She's tall of stature, beautiful of face
And must have seen her gay and happy days
But now as canker worms eat up the flower
So sorrow doth her heart. She seldom laughs.
Only when in our play she kisses us
And calls us all her joy.
(*Enter Valmiki*) (*All present stand up*)

All.—All hail Saint Valmiki hail.
(*The two boys turning their faces towards him cling to his garments and cry out.*)

Lava.—Father, Father, Where have you been so long ?
I have sung the Ramayan to the King.

Kusha.—And I too.

Rama.—Who are these disciples of yours, noble sage
And of what parents born ? They have sung us
Songs sweeter than the nymphs of Indra's court
As if the wind has gifted both of them
With all her music and her melody.

Valmiki.—They are thine own blood, Ram, thine own twin sons,
Sita, their mother thou did'st banish far

To fall a prey to hungry forest wolves
But God defended her, and now she dwells
In my retreat safer than in the Court.

Rama.—Sita is living, these her sons and mine.
O, what a sudden joy is this the Gods
Have sent me far exceeding my deserts.
Come Lava, come Kusha, come both and cling to me
And let me greet you with a father's kiss.
O, dear ones, I know not which one of you
I love the more; one of my eyes the light
The other the dear pleasure of my heart.

Lakhsman.—Thou never yet denyedst thy brother's boon.
Thus, on my knee I do beseech of thee
Now we have heard the glad news that she lives
To send for Sita; joy it would be to all
But most to me, for on my mind has lain
All these long years the burden of her exile

Koshalya.—Rama, thy mother adds her aged voice
To Lakshman's pleading. Disappoint her not
In this which well may be her last request
That she shall ever make thee; to behold
Sita and thee united once again
Would lighten my last days with untold joy.

Valmiki.—We hermits rest our hopes beyond this life
With worldly matters are concerned but little
Yet the affliction of thy banished Queen
Daily have I beheld; and I do fear
If once again rejected she will die.

Rama.—From Ajodhya I did exile my love
But never from my heart; I loved her then
Most dear, and dearer yet I hold her mem'ry
But you all know it was the people's wish
To banish her, I could not but obey them.
What pain it cost me, none shall ever know
But I who suffered it, and once again
I must abide their word, though surely now
They will permit my life its joy again.

Valmiki.—I will enquire of them; there is no doubt
All will be well.

Koshalya.— Courtier do thou go
And call a messenger to send to her.
Say she must come at once, that Rama calls.
My son, now are thy days of mourning done
Rejoice, rejoice thy Sita comes again.

Rama.—O, mother mine, fain would I let my heart
Leap up with thine, but I must hold it firmly
Till I know the people's mandate, which
However hard to me is strictest law.

Curtain.

SCENE IV.

COURTIERS AND PEOPLE.

Drop Scene.

(*Dhobi and a Leader of the people walking in street..*)

Dhobi.—Dost thou know the reason for this great assembly
Why all we common folk have been called in
Among the lords and nobles of the court?

Leader.—Hast thou not heard of Valmiki the Saint
How that he comes to make a great appeal
To all of us for Rama?

Dhobi.— For what thing
Can such a mighty king require of us,
Poor humble folk, consent?

Leader.— They say it is
Concerning Rama's Queen whom they have found
Still living in the forest.

Dhobi.— What say you brother
Would they have her back?

Leader.— Ay, that's the gist
But I do fear the Gods have not forgot
The sin against their law.

Dhobi.— Nor have the folk
Forgot the deaths and terrors of the Famine
Sent in punishment.

Leader.— But think you not
That many of the folk have such soft heart
As carry them astray beyond their judgment?
Dhobi.—It may indeed prove so.

(*All exit left*)

Curtain rises on King and Court and Valmiki.

All.—All hail, Your Majesty.
Rama.—Good morrow to you, people; I am glad
To see so many here assembled——Valmiki
Will now proclaim a matter near my heart
For which I only beg a patient hearing,
And after—that you judge with leniency.
Leader.—We will hear him, *All.*—Let us hear him.
Valmiki.—O, People of Ajodhia, hear the thing
That Rama your ever wise and noble ruler
Does now desire of you.—It is but plain
To every man of you how he has pined
Since his dear Queen was banished, nor sought joy
Nor comfort with another as would most
But ever kept a single, faithful heart.
And now his sons have been discovered to him:
You all beheld the handsome princely youths.,
Who in his stead will reign when comes their time
In the tradition of their famous fathers.
All.—Long live the King and the King's sons.
Valmiki.—Ah! You are loyal as ever; for your love
And your devotion to your hero King
Have you extended to his royal sons.
This the reward he looks to for his labours;
Your ready gratitude does make him glad,
But if you would complete his happiness,
To one thing—small to you but great to him—
Give your consent to welcome back your Queen
Milkmaid.—No. No.
Feryman.—The Famine.
Sweetwala.—And the Gods' wrath.
Valmiki.—Have you forgotten her, you loved so well.

Her gracious ways and her gentle loving smile?
How she would feed the beggars at the gate
And tend his sores with his own gentle hands?
Have you forgot the beauty of her face
That now in banishment is pale and sad?
Nurtured in luxury and dainty fare
Her little hands that were so soft, are rough
With gathering firewood in the forest wild.
She and her children in a shepherd's hut
Have lived as best they might on herbs and roots.
So brave she was, she never did bemoan
The hardness and the misery of her exile.

Milkmaid.—Oh, poor sweet soul

Ferryman.—What life there for a Queen.

Sweetwala.—Let her come back.

Valmiki.—I knew your hearts were kind
And there is not one of you who entertains
A single doubt of her fair innocence.

Leader.—No, she is innocent.....but.....

Valmiki.— Now is the time
To exercise the power that is in your hands
And to redress the wrong that has been done.
Now the King's sons as princes in the Court
Have been established, shall their royal mother
Not resume her place? She who has suffered
Both for them and us! I trust your hearts,
I know you will acclaim your love and loyalty
With high resounding greetings—Lo. She comes
Trembling, expectant, waiting for the word
That brings her life again and happiness,
And gives you back your rightful gracious Queen.

(*All are silent with bowed heads till one man, the Leader, steps forward*).

Leader.—O, sage, the people's silence speaks their will.
Fear of the Gods is on them; many here

Are poor men who still mourn the bitter loss
Of children, goods, and cattle they sustained
When last the unrelenting gods did scourge
Us without pity for this very thing.

Rama.—O, people, for whose sakes I banished Sita
If you could know the suffering that was caused
By that atonement, you would also, know,—
So great it was—even the mighty wrath
Of most exacting gods must be appeased.

Leader.—Your Majesty, your people stand as one
For the old law—We dare not go against it.

Rama.—O Valmiki,—Is there no shred of hope
Their hearts may yet be turned?

Valmiki.— Rama, my lord.
By their plain words and stubborn front I see
Only too well, they are relentless still.
I have pled for thee and Sita, as thou knowest
With all my powers, but they will not be moved.

Rama.—(*Turning to people again*)
My loyal subjects, if you love your King
Give ear to his own pleading. Give him life
And reinstate his most beloved Queen.

Leader.—My lord, we all do love thee, but we owe
Our duty to the ancient powerful gods,
Who, if we do this thing, will visit us
A second time with vengeance terrible.
The word is spoken. Sita may not stay.

Rama.—(*To Sita*).—O, dearest wife, to what a pass is this
I've brought thee now. Better have left thee
In thy mother's arms than ever brought thee
To this bitter day. All thou hast suffered
For my kingdom's sake I dare not think upon.
That thy devoted life is thus rewarded
Shatters belief in any power of good.
To think that after all thou must return
Lonely and sad into the hermitage,
There broken hearted, to weep out thy days.

Beloved, do thou plead with them thyself,
With pity melt their hearts.

Sita.— Rama, my lord.
And people of his realm. I will not plead
My cause, for I perceive it is become
A bitter strife between you. Nor to exile
Will I now return. But, as my life
Apart from Rama and my darling sons
Is less than nothing, I relinquish it.
Farewell Rama. From where I go to now
I will remember thee, thy love and faithfulness.
Think not with sorrow on me. In the earth's
Quiet, everlasting bosom shall I lie
Untroubled any more with grief or pain.
O, Mother Earth, if I have proved myself
Spotless and pure while in this world of men
Receive me now in token of thy love.....
Ah, swiftly answered is thy daughter's prayer
Already do I feel thy kindly touch
Steal o'er my being and calm my frenzied breath.
Peace, peace at last. Mother, I come to thee.
The new life opens through the gates of death.

(*The earth opens and Sita goes down*).

PROVINCIAL FINANCE IN INDIA.

"*The revenue of the State is the State.*"—*Edmund Burke.*

Of all the most difficult problems which are at present engaging the attention of the country, the question of rehabilitating the finances of the provinces and of placing them on a sound and secure basis is perhaps the most important. The present paper is an attempt to explain the exact situation, so far as the question of provincial finance in India is concerned, so that the points at issue may be properly appreciated and the real difficulty may be understood. There has been, of late, a very wide discussion of this question in the public press and on the platform, but, it is unfortunate, much of it is tainted by political bias or over-zealous regard for provincial patriotism with the result that the issues are clouded and a proper solution of this question seems as remote as ever.

Financial System before the Reforms.

Before we proceed to explain the present system of provincial finance, it is necessary to give some idea of the financial system prevailing in the country before the introduction of the recent Reforms and the reasons which led to the abandonment of it. Before the Reforms, the budget of the Government of India included the transactions of all the provincial governments as well. The entire revenues of India belonged in theory and practice to the Government of India. The revenues of the provincial governments were mainly derived from the sources of income which were shared between the Government of India and themselves. Broadly speaking, certain heads of revenue were divided between the Government of India and the provincial governments according to certain

well-defined shares. Such were, for instance, the revenues derived from land, excise, stamps, income-tax, productive irrigation, etc. Besides these joint-heads of revenue, there were certain other items which were either wholly Imperial or wholly provincial. The revenues derived from opium, salt, customs, mints, railways, posts, and telegraphs, the military receipts, and the tributes derived from the Native States belonged entirely to the Government of India. The revenues derived from forests, registration, ordinary public works, police, education, medical services, courts and jails were entirely provincial. Along with this division of incomes there was also a division of expenses which was also clearly marked. From its own income, the Central Government was responsible for all the charges in connection with defence, railways, posts and telegraphs, interest on debts, home charges of the Secretary of State in London etc. The provincial governments were responsible for the administration of the land revenue and the general administration charges including forests, police, law courts, jails, education, and medical services. The charges for irrigation and ordinary public works were common to both the Central and provincial governments. Thus the provincial governments had certain shares in certain growing sources of revenue and they were also responsible for certain provincial expenditures. At first, quinquennial contracts were made about these shares between the Central and provincial governments but these were converted into quasi-permanent settlements in 1904 and into permanent settlements in 1911. The permanent settlement was a great improvement on the old system of quinquennial revisions as it saved the provincial governments from all the uncertainties and risks of an unfavourable settlement at the end of every five years. With such an uncertain sword of Damocles always hanging on their heads, it was obviously impossible for any provincial government to plan long ahead a regular and systematic plan of provincial development along any well-thought-out line. The long arm of the finance minister at Simla also made frequent raids into the resources of the provincial governments and at each

settlement there was a regular scramble among these governments for larger assignments of revenues. In this parallelogram of forces, the party which could pull the hardest generally got the best of terms. In this sharp conflict of claims in which each provincial government looked upon all the rest as its most undesirable rivals, it was exceedingly difficult to do real justice and the inevitable result was that in any such settlement no party felt satisfied, and all the provincial governments grumbled. There was discontent all round. The poor finance minister at Simla tried to please everybody and in the end pleased none, and in those days, at the time when the provincial budgets were presented to the local legislative councils, there was always an annual exhibition of indignant protests expressed in every provincial council against what was often described as the most monstrous iniquities of the Government of India.

Defects of the Joint-family Finance.

Such a system of finance could not possibly be an ideal one, and no one ever pretended that it was so. Indeed it was universally recognised that the system was open to grave objections, and the only reason why it ever existed was that it was only a stage in development, and, in a particular stage of financial evolution such a system was not only necessary but inevitable. But this biological necessity and justification of the system need not make us blind to its defects; and there were plenty of them. Some of these were so patent that it was impossible to overlook them. The average citizen in the state is more in touch with the provincial than with the Central Government, and it is the provincial government really which is more responsible for the individual welfare of the citizen than the Central Government. The average citizen is more interested in the provincial government which drives out malaria, provides drinking water, and prevents thefts than in the Central Government which keeps out the phantom foreign invader, controls our opium trade, and builds new

capitals amidst the ruins of empires. Thus the provincial governments are really in charge of what are rather loosely called the nation-building departments. But in the pre-reform financial system, the allotments to the provinces left very inadequate sums to allow of proper provincial development especially in the nation-building departments. The Government of India, whenever it had a large surplus, granted large sums to the provinces which were generally ear-marked for special purposes. This system of doles, as it was very properly called, left little independence or initiative to the provinces and it completely upset their own provincial programmes and forced them to move along particular lines or through particular grooves which the Government of India laid down for them and which very generally differed materially from their own lines of development which they had laid down for themselves in accordance with their own peculiar local needs. Thus the system of finance retarded all attempts at real provincial autonomy. "The revenue of the State is the State," said Edmund Burke, and unless the provincial governments had real financial independence, all talk of provincial autonomy ended in smoke. Further, the uncertainties of the periodical settlement, the occasional inroads which the Central Government made into the resources of the provincial governments, the regular scramble for increased allotments amongst the different provinces—all these combined to demoralize and discredit the whole financial system and destroyed all chances of real provincial development.—The provincial governments had no power of borrowing in the open market to carry out schemes of national development by means of productive public works nor had they the right of taxation, even though the pressure on the provincial governments for increased expenditure on the nation-building departments was continually increasing. The financial settlements were based not on a federal basis but on the joint-family system with excessive centralization of financial control in the Central Government, and yet the need for a system of decentralized finance was never greater in India than at the present time.

The Need for a Change.

The dream of provincial autonomy could not possibly be realized without a total separation between the Central and the provincial government in all administrative matters. Without such a clean cut, serious overlapping and constant conflicts of jurisdiction were inevitable and with such incessant conflicts there could be no provincial autonomy. This was very clearly realised by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford when the Reform Scheme was being developed and they found out that in order to give the provinces the benefits of a real autonomy, it was necessary that administrative functions should be clearly separated and definitely marked off as either Central or provincial, so that each provincial government might run along its own clearly marked line where it would have real independence and freedom from control by the Central Government. But this administrative delimitation could not be carried out without a simultaneous and complete financial separation as well, because divided heads of revenue would only mean joint control, interference and trouble. It was highly important that such troubles should be avoided, and the best way to do it was to enforce a clean cut partition for financial purposes as well. Thus the Reforms Report proposed* the entire separation of the Central and provincial finance because "if provincial autonomy was to mean anything, the provinces must not be dependent on the Central Government for their provincial expenditures."

The New System of Federal Finance.

Accordingly, Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford proposed to hand over to the provinces the *entire* financial responsibility—both in revenue and expenditure—of certain provincial subjects while reserving to the Central Government certain other completely separate and independent heads of Imperial revenue and expenditure. The old system by which heads of revenue

* *Vide* Montagu-Chelmsford Report paras. 200-1.

were divided between the Central and the provincial governments came to an end. It was proposed to transfer land revenue, irrigation, excise, and judicial stamps entirely to the provinces, while income-tax, general (*i.e.*, commercial) stamps along with customs, railways, salt, opium, posts and telegraphs were to remain wholly Central heads of revenue. As a result of this new allocation of revenues it was found that the provinces gained 18·5 (now 20) crores of additional revenue while the Central Government was faced with a large *annual* deficit of 9·5 crores in its budget.

Accordingly a system of federal and contributory finance was introduced and it was proposed that the deficit in the Central Government was to be made up by a system of contributions from the provinces *proportionate to their gross surplus* under the new allocation of resources. Thus the tables were turned and instead of the provincial governments depending on doles from the Central Government, the latter now depends on provincial contributions. The provinces have now become the masters of their own revenues. We hear no more of doles but of contributions. Under the old system, the provinces were the beneficiaries of the Government of India. Under the new one, the Government of India has become the pensioner of the provinces. The Joint Report also proposed to give to the provinces the rights of borrowing and taxation within certain well-defined limits. * Thus it proposed to introduce a system of real home-rule or local option in taxation and finance.

The Meston Award.

But the system of assessing the provincial contributions as proposed in the Joint Report was found to be very unfair as, under it, the richest as also the most economical provinces would have to pay most while the most extravagant governments would pay the least. This would be really equivalent to putting a premium on extravagance and inefficiency. The question was not free from serious difficulties and a Committee

* *Vide* First Reforms Despatch (para 62.)

was appointed in January 1920, on the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee of the two Houses of Parliament with Lord Meston as chairman to consider the whole question of provincial contributions. This Committee found that the scheme of contribution proposed in the Joint Report, *viz.*, assessment proportionate to the gross surplus under the new allocation of resources was unfair and impracticable, and they accordingly dropped it. The Committee fixed the contributions from the provinces on a new principle altogether, *viz.*, that of the *increased spending power* of each province. They estimated the annual deficit of the Central Government at 9·83 crores and the Committee determined the initial contribution from each province, which would in the course of 7 years become the standard contribution. In fixing the amounts of provincial contributions, the Committee was anxious to provide that no province would start on its career of financial autonomy with a deficit budget or with the immediate necessity of additional taxation. They fixed the standard contributions of the provinces as proportions of the total contribution necessary to make up the Central Government's deficit on the following scale :—

Bengal	... 19 per cent.
United Provinces	... 18 ,,
Madras	... 17 ,,
Bombay	... 13 ,,
Bihar and Orissa	... 10 ,,
Punjab	... 9 ,,
Burma	... 6½ ,,
Central Provinces	... 5 ,,
Assam	... 2½ ,,
TOTAL	...100 ,,

The Committee recommended that provincial contributions should be readjusted to this standard scale by equal increments extending over a period of 7 years. They further recommended that general stamps (reserved in the Joint Report for the Central Government) should also be provincialised, and lastly they also recommended that the Central Government should try to reduce these contributions with reasonable rapidity so as to extinguish them as early as possible in order to give to the provinces ample scope for internal development. Thus the scheme of provincial contributions as framed by the Committee and adopted by the Government may be summarised thus:—

(*Figures in lacs of rupees.*)*

Province.	Increased spending power.	Contribution to the Central Government.	Balance left.
Madras ...	576	348	228
Bombay ...	93	56	37
Bengal ...	104	63	41
United Provinces ...	397	240	157
Punjab ...	289	175	114
Burma ...	246	64	182
Bihar and Orissa ...	51	...	51
Central Provinces ...	52	22	30
Assam ...	42	15	27
TOTAL ...	1,850	983	867

* *Vide* Report of the Meston Committee—Parliamentary Command Paper 724 (1920).

Criticism of the Meston Award.

The award was received with a storm of opposition and it was universally condemned in all parts of India. Every province complained that it had been most unfairly treated and emphatic protests were made against the scheme which was frankly regarded as not only ungenerous but eminently unjust. It was pointed out that the Committee's method of estimating the increased spending power on the basis of which the provincial contributions were fixed was wrong and unfair, because it considered only the existing scale of provincial expenditure according to the standard till then in force, without making any allowance whatever for the natural and necessary developments which must come with years under a system of responsible government. The Committee took the normal revenue and the normal expenditure as it then stood and sought to fix them as the standard figures for all times to come. The result has been very unfortunate. All the provinces find that their level of expenditure is really much higher than the level arbitrarily fixed by the Committee and the resulting gap between revenue and expenditure has caused heavy financial embarrassment to all the provinces. In March 1922, Sir Malcolm Hailey put the excess of provincial expenditure over revenue at 800 lacs of rupees. The result has been that most of the provincial governments have lived on their balances which melted away from 16 crores in 1921 to only 5 crores in 1922. Some of the provinces have exhausted their balances altogether, while there are others yet which are on the other side of the fence and have lived on borrowed balances. Thus almost all the provinces are carrying on by means of debts and deficits. A detail study of the budgets of all the provincial governments in 1922–23 reveals the following alarming position :—

Madras	deficit	...	42 lacs.
Bombay	,,	..	50 ,,
United Provinces	,,	...	27 ,,
Punjab	,,	...	130 ,,

Bihar and Orissa	deficit	...	51 lacs.
Central Provinces	„	...	37 „
Assam	„	...	15 „
Bengal	surplus	...	19 „
Burma	„	...	13 „

Total deficits	...	352 lacs
„ surplus	...	32 „

Net provincial deficits 320 lacs.

With most of the provinces, these were not the first deficits but they came in a series of years. Further, the deficits would have been much greater if it were not for the new taxation imposed in 1922-23 in the following provinces, *viz.* :—

Madras	...	...	78 lacs.
Bombay	...	..	60 „
Bengal	...	..	140 „
Assam	...	...	3 „

Total .. 281 lacs.

These aggregated deficits were largely met by drawing on the provincial balances and by loans from the public or from the Government of India. This is really a very serious prospect, as the provincial governments would then be without any balance to meet any emergency. It is clear that under this heavy incubus of debts and deficits the Meston Scheme has broken down. Fresh taxation had to be imposed almost at the very commencement of the Reforms, which was very unfortunate, and almost all the provinces have been compelled to budget for deficits over a series of years. There is really speaking no provincial autonomy until these contributions are abandoned. With no money in hand, the provinces have no chance of making the best of their new opportunities. Their new freedom of development has really been a freedom to hang themselves and their provincial autonomy has become a mere paper autonomy. *The Meston Scheme has practically*

torpedoed the Reforms so far as the provinces are concerned, and the whole success of the Reforms has been seriously jeopardised. If these contributions are stereotyped *the Government of India will become a perpetual mortgagee on the revenues of the provinces.* The revenues allotted to the provinces are far less elastic and capable of expansion than those reserved for the Central Government. Some heads of provincial revenues are seriously threatened with reduction, *e. g.*, excise, judicial stamps, etc., as a result of the non-cooperation movement.* While the Meston award fails to provide the provinces with sufficient funds to carry on the existing administration properly, all urgent provincial needs of development for education, sanitation, public works, and industrial development will have to be starved. In the Financial Conference held at Simla in April 1922† it was found that the amount of capital expenditure which the provincial governments will have to provide within the next 5 years either for urgent remunerative capital works or for equally important unremunerative schemes of national development came to Rs. 92 crores or, in the average, Rs. 18 crores per annum. In the present condition of provincial finance it will be a miracle if the whole amount can be found. To meet the whole amount by loans would be too risky, as it will place an unduly severe strain on the borrowing powers of the country as a whole, it will injure the credit of the Government, it will reduce the amount of loanable capital in the country available for industrial development and it will further clash with the Central Government's Imperial loans, with the result that the one or the other will always have to wait. As between the provinces, the relative contributions are unfair and inequitable. The result has been the inevitable and unseemly tug-of-war. Each province has its own grievance and it makes the most of it. Bengal feels that her financial difficulties are peculiar and greater than those of the other provinces on

* In the current year, however, there has been a slight improvement in excise and stamp revenues in some of the provinces

† *Vide* Despatch of the Government of India No. 13 of 1922, dated 13th July 1922, para 4.

account of her Permanent Settlement. The Joint Select Committee of Parliament recommended* that Bengal should have a special consideration from the Government of India. The resources allowed to her under the Meston scheme are quite insufficient to cover the cost of her ordinary administration even as it stood at the time it was started—since when, of course, the cost has immensely increased. Under the Meston scheme, land revenue is the chief source of provincial income, and when the Meston award seems to be fair by allotting land revenue to *all* the provinces it is really far from so inasmuch as, on account of the Permanent Settlement, land revenue in Bengal is very much smaller in size than the land revenue in any other province and is absolutely incapable of any further expansion. Further, Bengal points out, that in an equitable settlement of the case, the true test is not what Bengal or any other province is paying to the Central Government *under the Meston scheme alone*, but what the Central Government actually receives *from all sources taken as a whole from the different provinces.* On this basis, Bengal has a legitimate grievance. In the case of certain contributions, *e.g.*, railways, posts and telegraphs it would be impossible to find out *exactly* the contributions from each province to the Central Government. Still, inspite of this difficulty, it would be quite legitimate for Bengal to argue—and this can apply equally to Bombay also—that on account of her wealth, trade, industries and population, the development of her means of communication, the higher level of administration, the spread of education and various other factors—her contributions to the Imperial exchequer on account of these items must far exceed those of most other provinces. But in the case of certain other heads it is quite easy to find out the exact contributions. For instance, the following table shows the contributions of different provinces to the Central Government under income-tax, super-tax, and customs. If the contributions to the Central Government under the Meston scheme be added to it, it is easy to point out that the *total*

* *Vide* Report of the Joint Select Committee of the two Houses of Parliament.

contribution of Bengal to the Central Government is very much in excess of all the other provinces :—

(*Figures in lacs of rupees*).*

Provinces.	*Revenues collected in the province under*			Contribution to the Central Government under the Meston scheme.	Total contribution of the provinces.
	Income-Tax. (*a*)	Super-Tax. (*b*)	Customs. (*c*)	(*d*)	(*a*+*b*+*c*+*d*)
Madras .	78	18	121	348	565
Bombay ..	245	54	680	56	1035
Bengal ..	177	50	859	63	1149
United Provinces .	50	8	.	240	298
Punjab ..	41	2		175	218
Burma .	61	8	150	64	283
Bihar and Orissa	20	4	...	.	24
Central Provinces	18	1	. .	22	41
Assam .	9	¼	...	15	24¼

Thus Bengal contributes really 1149 lacs to the Central Government as against 298 lacs of the United Provinces 218 of the Punjab and 565 of Madras. This is the peculiar trouble of Bengal and she strongly insists upon her claims to some additional source of revenue. She claims that the export-duty on jute—which is a Bengal monopoly—ought to be provincialised so that the injustice of the settlement may be to some extent mitigated. Madras feels that she is the milch-cow and a proportionately larger portion of her revenues is taken away by the Central Government than in the case of the other provinces. The United Provinces

* *Vide* Parliamentary Paper—Cmd. 974 (p. 39).

and the Punjab feel the same grievance—though it must be admitted that they are not as badly hit as Madras. The initial contribution by Madras was 35½ per cent of the total Imperial deficit against 5½ per cent of Bombay and 6½ per cent of Bengal. And yet Bombay feels that as an industrial province she has been very unfairly treated in the matter of the income-tax which she regards as her gold mine. In the United Provinces we are paying 240 lacs out of a total Imperial deficit of 983—just 25 per cent. Out of a total gross provincial revenue of 13½ crores we are paying 2½—or about 20 per cent. The sources of revenue assigned to the United Provinces are not very elastic and while other provinces like Bengal, Bihar, Assam, and Burma have vast natural resources which have yet to be exploited, there is little in the United Provinces to which we can turn in this crisis. We have no mineral resources to develop. Our chief natural resource lies in forests, which are neither large nor stable as a source of revenue. The incidence of land revenue per cultivated acre in ryotwari areas already stands thus : *

	Rs.	A.	P.
Madras	2	8	11
Bombay	1	5	7
United Provinces—Agra	1	12	8
—Oudh	1	15	3
Punjab	1	8	6
Central Provinces	0	10	0
Bihar and Orissa	1	2	6

On the other hand, Bihar protests that as a new province she is not yet fully equipped with all the adjuncts of an autonomous province and she makes large claims on the generosity of the Central Government for these—even though she is contributing nothing. Assam has protested that unless the arrangement is quickly altered her Government is "predoomed to impotence and failure."† On the other hand Burma is allowed to develop her vast resources not out of loans but out of

* Agricultural Statistics of India 1916—17.

† Parliamentary Command Paper 974.

her surplus revenues—*at the cost of other provinces*—which certainly does not seem to be very fair. All these inter-provincial inequalities of treatment have led to a perpetual tussle and the angry use of too many superlatives. They have threatened the ultimate success of the Reforms and the prospect of responsible government in India by putting the political unity of India in jeopardy.* It is really no use crying peace where there is no peace. In September 1921, the Bengal Legislative Council sent a deputation to the Viceroy at Simla, which laid before the Government of India the peculiar position and difficulties of Bengal. As a result of it, the Legislative Assembly, on the motion of the Finance Member, remitted for a period of 3 years the annual contribution of 63 lacs by Bengal so as to help her to tide over the difficulty and readjust her finances. This was done, not so much out of any feelings of generosity towards Bengal, but, in justice to her peculiar position and special claim to consideration—a claim which the Joint Select Committee recommended to the earnest consideration of the Government of India. But under the Meston Scheme and under the Devolution Rules† any reduction in the Central Government's demand has to be shared first by those provinces which are paying more than their proper share so that the benefit of these 63 lacs should have come first to Madras and the United Provinces rather than to Bengal. This concession to Bengal immediately led to similar demands from other provinces—chiefly Madras and the United Provinces, while so far as Bengal was concerned, she promptly thanked for what she got and then, like Oliver Twist, she asked for more. The other provinces assert that Bengal by her Permanent Settlement is escaping a part of her legitimate burden as a result of which Madras and the United Provinces are bled. When Bengal says that the existing settlement is unfair to her, as it does not even provide for the cost of administration in the province even at the time that it was started, she is right. When the Joint Select Committee *on this basis* recommends a special

* *Vide* Government of India Despatch No. 296 of 24th June 1920 to the Secretary of State

† Rule 18 of the Devolution Rules.

treatment for Bengal, they may be right again. When the Government of India *on this basis* remits 189 lacs in 3 years they think they are right too. But the one important point which is generally forgotten is—are the revenue systems of Bengal and the United Provinces the same? Why should Bengal continue her Permanent Settlement and always plead poverty, while here in the United Provinces a temporary land revenue settlement with the revenue demand increasing at every settlement is not enough to enable her to make the two ends meet? The time is fast coming when other Provinces in India will question the equity of this adjustment and will like to know the reason why Bengal is allowed to continue as the spoilt child in the joint family. We have a shrewd suspicion that the Government of Bengal may not be very unwilling to do away with the Permanent Settlement, but it is the Government of India which holds them back. The Permanent Settlement was concluded and confirmed not by the Government of Bengal but by the predecessors-in-title and interest of the Government of India, so that if the Permanent Settlement is to go, it is the Government of India—not the Government of Bengal—who will be charged with breach of faith. The Government of India may be justified in not taking such a risk—particularly at this time when it will immediately be used as a great handle by the non-co-operators against the Government throughout the country. This is perhaps the real reason which led to the remission of those 63 lacs due from Bengal for 3 years. Whatever it might be—and we are only making a suggestion—the other provinces resent this concession to Bengal. They have no objection to the Government of India becoming generous to Bengal out of her own money; but when this generosity is shown at the expense of the money belonging to the other provinces, they are entitled to enquire if the Government of India is just before it is generous.

Its Justification.

Such, then, are the results of the Meston Scheme. But the question is not without its other side and we will now proceed

to discuss some of the arguments which may be used to justify it. It is, first of all, necessary to point out that it is nowhere claimed that the Meston Scheme is ideal. On the contrary, every one realises that it is really very far from it. It is not the best scheme that could be devised. It may possibly be the second best. The crucial point in the question is that those who condemn the Meston Scheme are out of court until and unless they produce *a better alternative*. But the scheme has really produced more destructive than constructive criticism. It certainly will not do to suggest that provincial contributions should cease at once, because that would only mean that the Central Government will have an *annual* uncovered deficit of Rs. 10 crores which will inevitably lead to financial insolvency and ultimate ruin. It will injure the credit of the Government of India which will react on the whole economic life of the country and the provinces themselves have as much to lose under it as—perhaps more than—the Central Government. As the Finance Member pointed out* the very members in the Central Legislature who press to divide the spoils forget that they are the Managing Directors of the Central Revenues—they are its custodians—and it is their duty to see that the central revenues do not go bankrupt. But they are clamouring at the counter trying to get the most out of an embarrassed institution. Now let us look at the facts of the case. Under the new allocation of revenues the Central Government is in an annual deficit of 10 crores. To meet this deficit, the provinces contribute in unequal—it may quite possibly be also unjust—shares. Now it is suggested that the provincial contributions must cease or must be reduced at once. Granting for a moment that this is done, the inevitable result will be that the Central Government in addition to its own existing deficits will be faced with a much higher and more permanent deficit—a thing which it would be impossible to allow. So the net result will be that the Central Government will be compelled either to retrench to the extent of about 20 to 30 crores per annum or to seek new sources of revenue. It would be manifestly

* *Vide* Proceedings, Legislative Assembly, Vol. III, No. 8, page 525.

impossible to cut down expenditure by say 20 to 30 crores per annum all of a sudden without a serious loss of administrative efficiency. So the only practical alternative would be to find new sources of revenue for the Central Government. But in India, which is a poor country, the field for revenue is extremely limited and there is very little room for experiment along these lines. *India is no field for sensational empirical finance.* How then is the additional revenue to be found? What is the source where the Government can go for it?* If the Government of India settles it by appropriating some head or heads of revenue now assigned to the provinces how will it help them? The provincial contributions then may be abolished but the provinces will find that their resources have also been reduced. *The vacuum remains either at Delhi or in the provinces.* There is no way out of it. The system of central and provincial finance though separated as book accounts are still very largely inter-connected and inter-dependent. At present both the central and the provincial governments are in deficits. To abolish or reduce the provincial contributions may no doubt rearrange the mutual budgets and deficits by reducing the provincial deficits and thereby increasing the Imperial deficit but the *total quantum of deficits will remain the same.* The net result is the same in any case—whether we keep the deficit wholly central or wholly provincial or partly central and partly provincial. In two years—1921-3—the Central Government imposed 23 crores of new taxation—apart from increased railway and postal charges—and yet it is very far

* The best evidence of the difficulty of imposing new taxation *now* is just furnished by the Legislative Assembly refusing its assent to the increase of the salt duty in 1922 and again *twice* in 1923, even after the Finance Member had gravely assured the House that it was about the only way to financial solvency and even after he had implored the Assembly to pass it, in the interest of the Reforms, as the last most momentous decision in its life But as the Legislative Assembly still persisted in refusing its assent to the Salt duty, it had to be carried into effect only by invoking the extraordinary powers of the Governor-General of passing a bill by certificate This may have saved the situation for the time being, but, it is certain, the next Legislative Assembly with the Congress party inside it—will adopt a more determined pose, and the prospect of passing new taxation bills every time by means of a constitutional revolution will certainly be regarded not only as most uninviting but as positively dangerous. *Vide* Proceedings, Legislative Assembly, March 20, 1923.

from solvency.* In 1923-24 the Government of India is faced with a deficit of 6 crores which has just led to the increase of the Salt duty against the most emphatic protests of the Legislative Assembly. Within the last 5 years, the Government's total deficits amounted to the enormous sum of 100 crores which were met by increased debts in the shape of Treasury Bills. To propose that it should go on even further increasing taxation or debts is to suggest a dangerous and disastrous course. This is the real problem, and until it is satisfactorily solved, provincial contributions must continue. There is nothing unusual in provincial contributions and there is really nothing in it that it is really inconsistent with provincial autonomy. The late Mr. Gokhale was one of the strongest advocates of a system of federal finance for India in which the provinces were to contribute. In his evidence before the Decentralization Commission he outlined a new scheme of finance which is very much like the system we now have in force. Further, on an examination of the financial system prevailing in other federal states we find that the present system prevails. In Germany, the component states are very largely autonomous—much more so than our provincial governments here are—and though the Republic has its own independent revenues the component states actually contribute large sums to the Imperial Exchequer.†

It may also be pointed out that before the introduction of the new financial system, Madras had a bigger revenue than any other province in comparison with her population. Her population was less than that of Bengal or the United Provinces, but still she had a bigger revenue. And by the present system, instead of losing anything, she has gained far more than any other province because her increased spending power under it, after

* From 1914 to 1922, the Government of India raised additional taxation to the extent of about 30 crores—exclusive of the Excess Profits tax which yielded only 11½ crores during the short time it was in force It may be mentioned incidentally that a strong public opinion holds the view that the Government did not make as much use of the Excess Profits tax as they possibly could and thus sacrificed a very important source of revenue at a time when they were increasing our floating debts enormously. (*Vide* Legislative Assembly Vol III, No 16, p. 1009)

† For further details vide *Separation of State and Local Revenues* by Miss Mabel Newcomer, Ph.D. (Columbia University Studies).

paying her contribution, is 228 lacs against 639 lacs of all the other provinces combined and in 1920-1 it stood at 273 lacs against 775 lacs—even more than the Meston award. This certainly does not seem to be very unfair. Similarly the United Provinces after meeting the contributions get an increased spending power of 157 lacs while the Punjab gets 114 lacs. Nor is this all. Whenever there is to be any reduction of the contribution—as it is sure to come later—Madras under the Meston Scheme will get the lion's share in the remission. The remissions will come as a matter of policy. It will not really be a post-dated cheque on eternity. It is only a question of time. "The Government is committed to a progressive reduction of the provincial contribution"* "Its progressive reduction and extinction is a first charge upon any improvement in the financial position of the Central Government."† The Government of India, in December last, renewed the undertaking for the reduction and the ultimate extinction of the provincial contributions, though, as the Secretary of State pointed out,‡ no pledge can be given as to the exact period when this can be done. But the Government of India in their Despatch ‡ promised that as soon as equilibrium is attained between Central revenue and expenditure, the provincial contributions will cease. Sir Basil Blackett has just remarked in the Legislative Assembly§ that though the Meston award is for the time being *res judicata*, the Government of India is steadfastly shaping its policy towards the reduction and eventual extinction of the provincial contributions. This is not merely a promise, but it is a statement of fact. The present long-continued trade depression is the greatest difficulty in the way. The Government of India's revenue is so largely derived from commercial services that it feels the first effect of a trade depression. When trade revives, the Central revenues will automatically improve and then it will not be

* Sir Malcolm Hailey—Legislative Assembly, 1921. (Vol I, No. 7, p. 449)

† *Vide* Proceedings, Council of State, 27 Feb 1922.

‡ Government of India, Despatch No. 13 of 1922, dated 13th July, 1922, and the Secretary of State's (Financial) Despatch No. 17, dated 9th November, 1922.

§ *Vide* Legislative Assembly, Debates Vol. III, No. 43, pages 2697-8.

difficult to reduce or abolish these contributions. But an attempt at the present moment to redistribute the burden by any new method or enquiry may lead, so far as the provinces are concerned, to very unexpected results. The Meston settlement was based on certain important assumptions. Some of these were :—

(*a*) A 2 shillings-rupee,
(*b*) A military budget of 42 crores of rupees only,
(*c*) Railways to yield a net profit of 8 to 10 crores per annum.

These optimistic calculations have all been falsified. Exchange has behaved in a most wayward way resulting in a loss of about 16 crores, the military budget has gone beyond 62 crores while the Railways have again ended with the loss of a crore.* With this new situation facing them, the Government of India may well feel justified in saying "my necessity is greater than thine" and in asking that the time has come not to reduce but really to increase the provincial contributions—particularly when we remember that the Central Government has some very urgent needs to meet almost immediately. Railways are hopelessly ill-equipped, a scientific frontier has yet to be found by means of a successful frontier policy, a large amount of floating debt—the legacy of the war—has yet to be discharged. To increase the deficit of the Central Government at such a time is to injure the credit and solvency of India as a whole and this will inevitably affect the credit of the provincial governments as well. There has been an ominous increase in our national debt in recent years—from 447 crores in 1914 to 781 crores in 1922—and it will be dangerous to add still further to this heavy load of debt.† Further, there is the great risk that once these contributions are modified, once any hope is given that the arrangements *can be* altered, all provincial councils will begin to sanction large expenditures without providing the necessary revenue for it.

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* *Vide* Council of State Proceedings (Vol. II, No. 18, page 904.)

† *Vide* Legislative Assembly, Vol. III, No. 16, page 1009.

This will mean the end of all financial responsibility and responsible government. The reduction or abolition of these contributions, *when undertaken must be final* and until the Government of India is in that position it really ought not to change the present system.* We cannot play with it by remitting it now only to be re-imposed later on. It is unfortunate, but really there is no clean slate to write upon. This may be unwelcome to the provinces, but there is really no help for it if we mean to maintain the financial solvency of India. The provinces must remember that India is much bigger than any of them and that the vital interests of India as a whole are more urgent and more important than the purely local interests of any of them. If India goes to ruin, what will become of the provinces ? What will remain of provincial autonomy ? The whole is greater than the part and all the provinces put together minus India is equal to zero. We are all citizens of India first and citizens of particular provinces next. The true test of real patriotism lies in a frank recognition of this political axiom and the sooner it is recognized the better for the country as a whole.

Conclusion.

The situation as explained above is certainly difficult—much more difficult than most people imagine or care to realise. There can be no reduction in contributions—however eminently desirable or necessary it may be on other grounds—until the Central Government's finances are put on a sound basis. Our first and foremost attempt ought to be to pull together so as to bring the Central Government out of the eddies. It requires patient and strenuous work. It requires courage of a very high order as well. The Government of India also must make a real and honest attempt to carry out the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee to the best of its power. Economy is in itself a great income. The same spirit of retrenchment must also animate all the provincial governments

* *Vide* in this connection Sir Basil Blackett's speech in the Legislative Assembly when introducing the Budget (Proceedings, Vol. III, No 48, page 2943.)

—though there again it is necessary to put in a warning that economies suggested by some of the Retrenchment Committees may not be really economical after all. The Bengal Retrenchment Committee has recommended a net saving of 190 lacs, the Punjab Committee has suggested an immediate retrenchment of 37¼ lacs and an ultimate saving of 50 lacs.* The Bombay Committee has recommended a cut of about 88 lacs. In our search for economies let us not cut down vital services—where an expenditure, unlike ordinary expenditure, is really an investment which, as Marshall puts it, yields a cumulative return. Economy at the expense of waste is welcome, but economy at the expense of efficiency is not economy but real waste. To starve the national development services would really be a misuse of the term economy. If the choice lies between such economies on the one hand and increased taxation on the other, no one will hesitate for a moment to vote for the latter. Economy alone will not be able to solve the whole situation. We cannot really wring water out of stone and with chronic deficits all round the real and the most courageous remedy is to increase income by fresh taxation. It is pleasant to note that almost all the provincial councils have not shirked their responsibility on this question and in the United Provinces last month we had three new taxation bills on stamps, court-fees and motor vehicles—meant to bring about a financial equilibrium. Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Bihar and Assam—all these provinces have already imposed fresh taxation which has greatly eased their financial difficulties. Increased and improved local administration so as to allow of further deprovincialisation of a large number of services will give a great relief to the provincial budgets so that extension of local self-government need no longer be regarded as a concession to a political clamour but as a means to financial solvency. The lines of new taxation suggested—whether Imperial or provincial—are manifold. A tax on agricultural incomes, a tax on the increase of war wealth, increased luxury duties, the issue of premium bonds, the imposition of a death duty, the abolition

The Punjab Gazette, 16th February 1923.

of the Permanent Settlement which in Bengal and Bihar alone can bring in a revenue of more than 15 crores—all these and more have been suggested in turns and some of them certainly require very careful examination before they can be adopted. The situation is very difficult indeed, but with requisite courage and patience and with unlimited good will the situation can and will be solved. It will be solved gradually. Some of the provincial budgets presented last month already show marked improvement. The financial situation in every country is improving and it seems in India we have also turned the corner. There is no need for panic; and hasty measures only lead to the ditch. *Natura non facit saltum.*

BHUJANGA BHUSAN MUKHERJEE.

REVIEWS.

Our Fiscal Policy—*By C. N. Vakil,* [*D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Rs. 4.*]

This small booklet is very largely the result of the research work in Indian Finance carried on by the author under the guidance of Professor Cannan in the London School of Economics during 1919-21 as Bombay University Research Scholar in Economics. The author begins by giving a detail history of the Indian Fiscal Policy from the year 1846. The history of the controversy relating to the Cotton Duties in India is given in detail, and the inner story of the constitutional conflict which was carried on between the Secretary of State for India on the one hand and the Government of India on the other is given with force and precision. The book will be read with special interest just at the present moment when the Indian Legislature at the instance of the Government of India has adopted a policy of discriminating protection as a result of which India and the Government of India have recovered their much needed fiscal autonomy. India has thus come into a line with the other self-governing Colonies of the Empire whose motto in Tariff policy was beautifully expressed at the Imperial Conference in the words of a great statesman: "Daughter am I in my mother's house, but mistress in mine own." The changes in tariff during and even after the war are included and this considerably enhances the value of the book. A detail study of some aspects of the Dominion and the British Fiscal policies is also given and the latest information with regard to the development of the tariff in England and the Colonies will be greatly welcomed, though a better and a more detailed treatment of some of the most important measures recently undertaken in England would have been still more welcome. The great State assistance to the British Dye Industry does not receive the attention it deserves, while the Safeguarding of Industries Act, 1921, might with very great

advantage have been more fully treated. The most interesting part of the book is Part III, where the author gives us a very able account of the recommendations of the Indian Fiscal Commission. The author is frankly an out and out Protectionist and he does not believe in the "discriminating protection" recommended in the Majority Report on account of the many conditions and restrictions with which the policy of Protection is recommended. The author also believes, with the Minority Report, in a policy of regulating the free flow of foreign capital into India so as to protect the poor Indian consumers from being exploited by foreigners under the shelter of a tariff. These are intricate questions of policy and on all such questions the author has thrown a good deal of light which will help the ordinary reader to make up his mind. The book is an able presentation of the whole question and we have no doubt it will be greatly appreciated.

B. M.

Present-Day Banking in India—*By B. Rama Chandra Rau*, [*Published by the University of Calcutta*, 1922.]

The want of a small handbook on modern Indian banking was long felt by students of the question as a great difficulty. The present book under review attempts to remove this long-felt difficulty to a great extent. The treatment of Indian banking by Prof. J. M. Keynes in his classical work on Indian Currency and Finance is much too short occupying, as it does, only one chapter in that book. Mr. Shirras has no doubt written in much greater detail on the same subject but his book deals not merely with banking but also with currency and exchange problems and these latter topics get more emphasis from Mr. Shirras than banking. The present book deals with all aspects of the question of banking in India in a small compass. The author opens by giving a brief account of the Indian Money Market and discusses briefly some of the characteristic features of it. The inelasticity of the existing

credit system in the country is only mentioned, but we think this, being one of the greatest defects of our Indian banking system, might with advantage have been discussed and explained in greater detail. The history of the Presidency Banks, though very brief, is illuminating. In a special chapter the author deals with the exchange banks in India and has given a very lucid account of the intricate and important business of the exchange banks in India. In particular, the author's explanations of the technical banking and commercial terms, which puzzle and bore so many readers of the daily papers, will be a real help to the students of Indian banking in properly understanding this difficult subject. The author's treatment of the War and its effects on the Indian exchange banks is rather too short and we think more might have been said with advantage on this very important question. For instance, the flow of funds between India and England needed for the finance of our crops and our trade, which is chiefly organized and controlled by these exchange banks, is explained very briefly and, we are afraid, inadequately. The most illuminating chapter is the one on Indian joint-stock banks and the author's analysis of the causes which led to the failure of a large number of these banks, a few years ago, affords very interesting and instructive reading. Mismanagement due to inexperience, want of competent Managers and Directors who were either unable or unwilling to do their work and to do it properly, excessive interference by men who had little or no stake in the stability of the bank, inadequate control or absolute want of control by the shareholders, want of a proper system of audit in the banking accounts, the fatal policy of lending assets in long-term and unrealisable securities—in some cases even mortgages of land—and the equally fatal temptation to attract deposits by offering a very high rate of interest, the combination of the business of banking with other wholly dissimilar business (like coach building, soap making, and engaging in ordinary trade) mutual jealousy and want of confidence amongst the different banks—all these and other causes which led to the downfall of so many

of our Indian banks have been very clealy discussed. The Presidency Banks refused to lend a helping hand to one of these banks by lending even on government security, the Directors were wrongly chosen—in some cases men were put in the Directorate who even did not know the language in which the proceedings were conducted—with the result that they always voted blindly on the important questions they had to decide. If any body was really responsible for this, it was the body of shareholders, for it was their business to "put the saddle on the right horse." The real secret of success in a bank is to choose your men well and then to trust them. The author gives us a chapter on the indigenous banker where he explains the whole organization of the system of indigenous banking. The recently constituted Imperial Bank of India is treated separately—the reasons which led to its formation and the advantages expected from it, its constitution and methods of business are all lucidly discussed and explained. The author also treats of industrial finance and industrial banks, Co-operative banks and the Post Office savings banks. The Post Office savings bank is really the bank for the poor and the middle class people with its limitation on annual individual deposits to Rs. 750. The author suggests several ways by which the popularity of these Post Office banks may be increased and one way he merely mentions is a higher rate of interest on the deposits. We think it would have been better if the author had argued its necessity more fully. The Post Office rate of interest was fixed long ago when the Government of India borrowed at 3 or 3½ per cent. Since then, the world has passed through a cataclysm and the Government of India—like every other Government—knows that the value of money has gone up enormously. The Government itself is now borrowing at 5 to 7 per cent and this competes very seriously with the Post Office savings bank. Besides this, the institution of the Post Office cash certificates with a very liberal rate of interest running practically at compound interest detracts still further from the popularity of these savings banks and it is rather unfair that Government should still be paying 3½ per cent to these poor

and middle-class depositors while it pays 5 to 7 per cent to the richer people who lend money to it on its promissory notes.

In the last chapter on Banking Reform, the author gives us a very clear account of the lines which our banking system should be made to proceed and as a result of which, it is expected, we shall soon succeed in developing a stable and vigorous system of banking in India—to the lasting good of her country and her people. On the whole, the book under review is an admirable presentation of a very difficult subject and it bears evidence of much hard and clear thinking. At a time when the development of sound banking is a matter of vital importance in the country the author's book will go a great way in bringing "knowledge without tears" to many people—students and businessmen alike—on a subject which was long regarded as dry and difficult. We welcome this book as a great aid to our students and we congratulate the young author—who is a lecturer in banking in the University of Calcutta—on his excellent hand-book—not merely for the ground that he has covered but also for the scholarship he has displayed.

B. M.

The Way to Agricultural Progress.—*By Daya Shankar Dubey, with a foreword by Professor H. Stanley Jevons.* [*Thacker Spink & Co.*]

The purpose of the book, as indicated by the title, is to suggest some means by which the condition of our greatest and most important industry, namely Agriculture, may be materially improved, so that the grinding poverty of our countless millions of ryots may be reduced and thereby the general level of living in our country may be somewhat elevated. It is this patriotic desire to alleviate the economic distress of our country, more than anything else, which impelled the author to undertake this work. Indeed it augurs well for the future of our country that we have at present a small but competent body of persons who are ungrudgingly giving their

best labours to find out remedies for the deplorable condition of our agriculture.

The author starts with an analysis of the present position of the Indian agriculturists and proves once again that their standard of living is extremely low with the result that they are carried away in their thousands without the least resistance by periodical outbreaks of epidemics. This, in the opinion of our author, is due to the pressure of the population on the soil, which is gradually increasing, for the area per head of the population which was only 1·28 acres in 1901-2, was further reduced to 1·24 acres in 1911-12. Another defect of Indian agriculture is the scatteredness and smallness of agricultural holdings which cannot be cultivated economically and efficiently owing to want of irrigation, lack of capital, etc. A third defect, again, is the want of education and organization among our agriculturists who do not receive the full value of their crops owing to the intervention of a large number of middle-men. To remove these and other defects of Indian agriculture, the author advocates, among other things, the application of preventive checks to restrict the growth of population; the establishment of what he calls the Agriculturists Benefit Department both in the Central and Provincial Government, which will co-ordinate and control all the different departments connected with agriculture and the peasantry; the reorganization of agricultural holdings with a view to increase their size, and the universal extension of a modified form of occupancy tenancy; the opening of co-operative wholesale societies in all important places; the spread of general education, primary and secondary, side by side with agricultural education through Agricultural Normal Schools, Secondary Schools, Intermediate Colleges, and a Government Institute of Agriculture.

The author has more or less independently arrived at the conclusions which are mentioned above. Every student of economics will generally agree with his views. But, here and there it appears that the author has been sometimes carried away by his enthusiasm for reforms. For example, his proposal to place all activities connected with agriculture under the

charge of one supreme department namely the Agriculturists Benefit Department, appears to be rather unsound. We believe that the departments of agriculture, co-operation, irrigation, land-revenue administration ought to remain entirely distinct in their organization and functions. For, complex economic problems such as those connected with Indian agriculture and rural economy should be resolved into their simplest component parts, and each part tackled by an independent body or department. This and certain other radical reforms proposed by him are no doubt due to his eagerness to see the condition of our agriculture improved in a definitely short time; he puts the limit at 20 to 30 years. While we wish that the reforms advocated were carried out within that time limit, we cannot help being rather pessimistic on that point in these days of deficit budgets and reductions. Anyway, the author has given us within the limits of 78 pages a fairly systematic discussion of the condition of our agriculture and rural economy. He has collected and arranged in an organic form all the available data on the subject, and has also given us his own independent conclusions from them. The book has been written in a simple and attractive style, and what is more, every page of it bears evident marks of honesty and sincerity of purpose. We earnestly recommend the book to all students of economics. Incidentally, it may also be mentioned that an improved and enlarged edition of the book has been recently published in Hindi.

H. L. D.

An Academic Study of some Money Market and other statistics—*By E. G. Peake,* [*P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London. 6s.*].

The object of the work, as has been explained by the author in the Introduction, is "to discover facts connected

with certain rates of interest and discount on the London Money Market, with the rates of Exchange between London and two foreign centres—Paris and New York, with the relationship between different rates and with the prices of commodities." The method used by him in finding out these relationships is that of Karl Pearson's " Correlation co-efficient ".

Mr. Peake has apparently succeeded in discovering some connection between the floating and discount rates in the London Money Market indicating that when the rate of discount on 3 and 6 months' Bank Bills is more than usual for the time of the year above the floating rate, the floating rate tends to rise more than usual during the currency of the bill, or to fall less if it be a period of the year when the rate falls.

As regards the London—Paris Exchange from the " Correlation co-efficients" between London Paris rate and (*a*) the rate of interest on floating money, (*b*) the rate of discount on 3 and 6 months' Bank Bills in London and (*c*) Market rate of discount in Paris—some interesting deductions have been drawn. Thus for instance the correlations, which are all positive, show that high rates of interest and discount both in Paris and London are accompanied by high rates of Exchange. Now so far as London is concerned this would not be expected according to the orthodox theory of Foreign Exchange that high rates of Exchange (when expressed in foreign currency) go with low rates of interest. Similarly in the case of London—New York Exchange, the correlations which are all negative, show that high rates of Exchange go with low rates of interest and discount in both centres. This would not be expected so far as New York is concerned. The above results unmistakably prove that the orthodox theory does not always obtain.

The rates in Paris and London are shown to be connected together. When they are high in Paris they are also high in London. Again another fact which is well-known to Banking students has been established, *viz.*, that the Paris rates are much more stable than the London rates.

The author is perfectly right in holding, that the establishment of a correlation does not connote the discovery of any

connection in the nature of cause and effect. Nevertheless such relationships which have been set out in the book, are valuable as serving a guide to the future movement of Exchanges and money rates.

Unfortunately, however, the period examined by the author —1882 to 1913—was one during which the world conditions were perfectly normal and as such his interesting deductions and inferences have no bearing on the post—war conditions. We welcome this book as an important and substantial contribution to the Monetary Science.

B. N. C.

The Editor desires to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications;—

The St. John's College Magazine, November 1922, February 1923.

The Meerut College Magazine, January 1923.

The Aligarh Magazine, November to December, 1922, (II Vol.) January to February 1923.

The Christ Church College Magazine, December 1922.

The Holkar College Magazine, September 1922.

The Collegian, November, December 1922, and January 1923.

The Educational Review, November, December 1922, January and February 1923.

The Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Journal, January 1923.

The Mysore Economic Journal, January 1923.

The Presidency College Magazine, December 1923.

The Calcutta Review December 1922, January, February and March 1923.

The Carmichael College Magazine, December 1922.

The Success, January 1923.

The Indian Review, January and February 1923.

The Allahabad University Magazine, October and December 1923.

The U. P. Education, December 1922.

The Wealth of India, December 1922.

The Lalbagh Chronicle, October 1922.

The Scout Brother, January and February 1923.

The Murray College Magazine, January and February 1923.

The Morris College Magazine, January 1923.

Anand Parvat, March 1923.

The Canning College Student's Magazine, October 1923.

The Advocate (semi-weekly) from December 10, 1922.

The Burma Gazette (weekly).

UNIVERSITY NOTES.

Professor J. A. Strang, M.A., and Professor K. N. Bahl, D.Sc., have been appointed representatives of the University on the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education.

Owing to financial stringencies the Government have cut down the recurring grant to the University by one lakh of rupees and the University, therefore, has to curtail its expenditure as provided in the original budget estimates.

On the 5th February Dr. Annie Besant delivered a lecture to the University on " Education and Culture."

Professor P. M. Buck, Dean of the Faculties of Arts and Science in the University of Nebraska, U. S. A., paid a visit to Lucknow during the last week of February and delivered a lecture on " American Universities."

Lieut.-Colonel H. R. Nutt, and Professor S. B. Smith have been elected representatives of the University to attend the conference of Extra-Mural University Teaching to be held at Cambridge, in July 1923.

The University has granted permission for the organisation of a University Ambulance Corps in connection with the St. John Ambulance Association, Lucknow.

The subjects of Arabic and Persian which hitherto have formed one Department will, by a resolution of the Academic Council at its meeting on 12th March, henceforth constitute separate Departments.

The following resolution was passed by the Academic Council at its meeting on 12th March:—

"That the Academic Council expresses its deep sense of appreciation of the services of Dr. G. N. Chakravarti, the first Vice-Chancellor, in organising the Lucknow University and earnestly requests the University to persuade him to accept a further term of office."

The new hostel, now under erection, is to be named the Sir Harcourt Butler Hostel, His Excellency Sir Harcourt Butler having kindly given permission for the same.

Ordinances have been passed permitting teachers within the territorial limits of the University to appear for the Lucknow University Examinations.

On Tuesday 6th March Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore delivered a lecture in the Bennet Hall on "A Vision of India's History." His Excellency the Chancellor presided. A full account of the lecture will appear in the September number.

The publication of the present (May) number of the Journal in April is due to the fact that the University Session ends on April 30th.

Faculty of Arts.

Department of English.

On 25th and 26th of January Dr. Tagore's "Waterfall" and "The Last Exile of Sita" were staged in the Bennet Hall under the auspices of the Department. Excellent audiences were obtained on both nights. After paying all expenses a sum of two hundred rupees was sent to Dr. Tagore as a contribution towards his University. Great credit is due to Mrs. Walker who was responsible for the scenery and dresses and painted a fine back-scene for "The Waterfall" as well as

a series of admirable posters, also to Mr. R. H. Nixon for his untiring work as stage manager. Muhammad Mujtaba Ali also deserves special mention for his indefatigable labours in getting the stage erected: he has been awarded a special silver medal for his good work. Medals for acting were awarded to (1) P. C. Mukerji, (2) S. C. Roy, (3) Ranjit Singh.

BACHELOR OF COMMERCE ASSOCIATION.

Since the last report of the activities of this Association appeared in the previous issue of this Journal five lectures were delivered under the auspices of the B. Com. Association in the Reid Hall, Golaganj.

The first lecture was delivered by Thakur Ram Singh, B.Sc., Income-Tax Officer, on "Income-tax and its succinct effect on the tax-payers," on the 19th January, 1923.

The second lecture was delivered by Mr. H. L. Day, M.A., F.R.E.S., lecturer in Economics, Lucknow University, on "Protection and Free Trade" on the 26th January, 1923. He began his lecture with a review of the European Commercial Policies and discussed the different effects of Protection upon India. A detailed report of his lecture was published in the "I. D. T." of the 29th January, 1923.

The third lecture was delivered by V. S. Rama, Esq., Ph.D., M.A., Reader in Politics, Lucknow University, on "The Growth of Indian Constitution" on the 21st February, 1923. During the course of his lecture he treated in brief all the important Acts since 1600 A.D. to the present day. A full summary of his lecture appears in the issue of the "I. D. T." of the 23rd February, 1923.

The fourth lecture was delivered by B. B. Mukerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., P.R.S., Reader in Economics, Lucknow University, on "Indian Finance" on 16th March, 1923. He began his lecture with a reference to the importance of the study of Finance. During the course of his lecture he gave a lucid

account of the constitutional struggle in England on the question of the power over the purse. The lecturer also dealt with the Reforms as well as the present system of Indian Finance. A brief summary of his lecture appears in the "I. D. T." of 22nd March, 1923.

The fifth lecture was delivered by C. D. Thompson, Esq., M.A., Professor of Economics, Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, on "Economists and Business Men" on 19th March, 1923. He discussed the different factors of production taken by Economists and Business men as separate from each other. He also suggested that a knowledge of Business is essential for an Economist. Finally he advised the Bachelor of Commerce students particularly to enter into the industrial line, rather than to pick up office jobs. He laid great stress upon the importance of practical training for a business man. In this connection he also discussed the various openings which lay before them, and said that the industrial development of the country would be greatly accelerated if they took advantage of them and did not hesitate to work with their own hands if opportunity arose.

THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE COURT.

The Third Annual Meeting of the Court of the Lucknow University was held on Thursday, the 29th, of March, 1923, at 4 p.m. H. E. Sir William Marris, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., the Chancellor, presided. There was a very fairly full attendance of members when the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. G. N. Chakravarti delivered his opening address. On conclusion of the Vice-Chancellor's address, H. E. Sir William Marris replied.

Two very important resolutions were passed at the commencement of the proceedings in connection with the present Vice-Chancellor, Dr. G.N. Chakravarti.

The resolutions were as follows;

(*a*) That the Court places on record its grateful appreciation of the numerous and meritorious services rendered to the University by its first Vice-Chancellor, Dr. G.N. Chakravarti, during his all too short a tenure of office; and further resolves that a full-size portrait of Dr. Chakravarti be placed in the University Hall in grateful recognition of his services.

(*b*) That the Court places on record its deep sense of appreciation of the work of its first Vice-Chancellor, Dr. G. N. Chakravarti, in organising the Lucknow University and maintaining its high standard of efficiency, and recommends to the Executive Council to recommend to the Chancellor to further extend the term of office of Dr. G.N. Chakravarti to such period as may be acceptable to him.

The following statute was passed laying down the conditions of service of the Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University:

(i) The Vice-Chancellor shall hold office for a period of three years and shall ordinarily reside in Lucknow.

(ii) He shall receive such remuneration from the funds of the University as the Executive Council shall deem fit.

(iii) He shall be entitled to such leave and shall enjoy such other privileges as the Executive Council may determine.

Important modifications were made both as regards the appointment of Professors in the United Kingdom, as also in the personnel of the Selection Committee.

Important changes were also made with regard to the appointment of examiners in the University. Formerly the appointment of examiners rested with at least four different bodies. This method of appointment was found to be cumbrous and unsatisfactory. Examiners will now be appointed on the recommendation of a Committee specially constituted for the purpose who will report to the Academic Council.

The Annual Accounts for 1920-21 and 1921-22 were considered as also the financial estimates for the year 1923-24. Owing to financial stringency a Retrenchment Committee had previously been appointed and drastic cuts were made in the expenditure for 1923-24, *i. e.*, a lakh in Recurring Expenditure and $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs in the Non-Recurring Expenditure.

A Committee was formed to revise the regulations for the conduct of the meetings of the Court of the University, and it was also resolved that Minutes of the meetings of the Court should be sent to the registered graduates of the University.

The proceedings of the Court altogether lasted from 4 to 7 p. m. on Thursday, the 29th March, 1923. The Court again met at 11 a. m. on the 31st March and finished its proceedings at 4 p. m. on the same day. The Vice-Chancellor presided throughout during the second session, which lasted for five hours.

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS TO THE COURT 1923.

Welcome to Sir William Marris.

This is the first occasion on which we have been honoured by the presence of His Excellency Sir William Marris to preside at a University function, and it is my privilege as the Executive head of the University to accord to him, on your behalf, a most cordial welcome. The last University function was the first Convocation of the University, and although it was brightened by the sunshine of success, there was also the shadow of the impending departure of His Excellency Sir Harcourt Butler lurking in the background. Never can the University recognise sufficiently the immense debt it owes to him and the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Literature conferred upon him on that occasion was but a poor tribute to his intense solicitude for the welfare of the University. But it was the highest gift the University had to offer, and was at least an attempt, however imperfect, to give expression to the deep feelings of gratitude which every one connected with this University felt towards him. It was natural that amidst our festivities we should have been haunted on that occasion by the spectre of his approaching departure, but the sadness which tinged our thoughts instead of damping our energies only succeeded in inspiring us with fresh courage and hope and in spurring us on to redoubled activity, so that the University, which his strong hands had helped in creating, might prove worthy of his blessing. We were comforted by the thought that amidst the shifting scenes of the phenomenal world such partings were inevitable, and were enlivened by the cheering prospect that his place would be taken by an administrator reputed alike for his cultured erudition and his sympathy with the awakening soul of the Indian people. The last message which Sir Harcourt Butler left with me was the assurance that the University would grow and flourish under the fostering care of such a finished scholar of progressive views as Sir

William Marris. My experience of the past three months amply bears out the soundness of the prophecy, for personal contact with our new Chancellor has brought home to my mind forcibly his active interest in our University and his intense desire to forward the movement initiated in our Provinces for putting University education on a really sound basis. I am confident that this University which aims at realising the ideals of a living University with its intensive culture and potent influence for moral uplift, will always enjoy the kindly interest and ready support of His Excellency.

Prefatory remarks.

2. Since the last Annual Meeting of the Court, our infant University has safely weathered another year of its growth—a period which is important not only because of the actual record of the pace and power of development it unfolds, but because of the steps already taken being fraught with immense possibilities for the future. Our University is only a couple of years old, and what are two years in the life of a University, the principal function of which is to mould the character and direct the thought-currents of the rising generation and thus supply the right kind of material for the building of the future Indian nation? A University, in order to rise to the height of its responsibility, must not be too eager to produce results that strike the eye, but should strive to lay its foundations upon firm ground and build solidly if slowly. Our chief concern therefore has been that no false steps should be taken which would prevent its fulfilling the destiny which our high aim and ideal have chalked out for it, although even in point of actual achievement the volume of work accomplished is by no means insignificant.

Important changes in Statutes and Ordinances.

3. You will remember my drawing your attention to the fact that the constitution of this University was essentially different from that of the older Universities and I expressed the opinion that it was a distinct improvement upon the older constitution. But I also anticipated that in the practical and actual working of the machinery some of its parts might require adjustment

to unforeseen exigencies. Such a re-adjustment has been found necessary in certain details, some of which the Executive Council were able to deal with themselves. An important case of this character is the change effected in the Ordinance regarding the constitution of the Selection Committee for appointing teachers other than Professors or Readers. You might remember that at the last meeting of the Court a strong opinion was expressed that the Selection Committee, which was constituted on the lines of that of the Dacca University and consisted of the Vice-Chancellor, the Dean of the Faculty concerned and the Head of the Department concerned, should be enlarged and be made more representative. According to this wish the constitution has now been changed and the committee now consists of:

1. The Vice-Chancellor,
2. The Dean of the Faculty concerned,
3. The Head of the Department concerned,
4. Two Members elected by the Academic Council,
5. Two Members elected by the Executive Council.

Another notable change, the need for which has been brought out by the practical working of the machinery, is the alteration in the Statutes regarding the appointment of examiners, the proposed change in which is before you for consideration. The Statute, as it now stands, does not provide the most satisfactory method of securing the best and most efficient examiners.

There are certain other highly desirable modifications, which need the amending of the Act itself. This is a more serious undertaking than making a change in the Ordinances or even the Statutes and therefore needs greater and longer deliberation. It is proposed to take up this question in the course of the year.

Staff.

4. In every department of human activity there is ever one particular aspect of work which appeals to an individual more strongly than others and in my conception of a University the quality of the staff of teachers occupies the central place. Organization, buildings,

equipment have all their importance and value, but it is the teacher who vitalises to whole organism. However perfect the organization, and however magnificent the buildings and equipment may be, they are fated to be sterile of results so long as the breath of life is not infused into them by the teacher, who is at once the head and the heart of the University. In a speech I made in the Legislative Council on the occasion of the passing of the Lucknow University Act, long before I had any idea that I was destined to be placed at the helm of the University, I expressed a fervent hope that the temple of learning, the foundation of which we were laying that day, might draw " teachers from all parts of the world inspired by the sacred mission of bringing wisdom where there is ignorance, light where there is darkness, and peace where there is strife." This was the old ideal of a University, and must ever remain the true ideal of a living University. And from the day I assumed charge of my duties as Vice-Chancellor, it has naturally been my earnest and unremitting effort to secure for the University teachers who will not only make it a real centre of learning and culture, but will inspire all those who come into contact with them with enthusiasm in the pursuit of knowledge and devotion to the highest ideals of purity and service. In spite of the great emphasis I have ever laid on this aspect of my work, I am conscious of the immense distance that still separates the actual from the ideal; but we may with justice claim to have taken definite steps towards reaching the goal, bearing in mind the limitations imposed upon us by the paucity of funds and inadequacy of accommodation and equipment. Last year we reported the appointment of a number of distinguished men in the Faculties of Arts and Science, and this year we have devoted our attention principally to the strengthening of the Medical Faculty. The only notable additions we have made in other Faculties are a Reader in Politics and Civics and Lecturers in Sociology and Epigraphy, *i.e.*, teachers in subjects which have now begun to claim attention in Indian Universities. But the Medical Faculty badly needed strengthening as it was appreciably depleted owing to the exigencies of the

war, just when the University assumed control of the King George's Medical College. Colonel Sprawson, who so ably guided the destinies of the College and who rendered invaluable help in organizing the Medical Faculty went on leave at the close of the last session. Although I missed his wise and cordial co-operation I was lucky in finding in the Faculty another Professor, who had been connected with the Medical College ever since its foundation, to undertake the administrative portion of Colonel Sprawson's work, and it is due mainly to the sound advice and enthusiastic devotion to the College of Colonel Sprawson and his successor, Professor Said-uz-zafar Khan, the officiating Principal, that we have been able to raise appreciably the level of efficiency. Colonel Sprawson's academic and clinical work as Professor of Medicine has been taken over by Colonel Willmore, one of the few people in this country who are members of the Royal College of Physicians of London and a physician of great experience and skill. For the Pathology Department we have secured the services as Professor, of Major Stott, who has given the much-needed relief to Mr. J. G. Mukerji, who conducted the Department single-handed for nearly two years with singular zeal as Reader, and is now ably co-operating with Major Stott towards the success of the Department. In the Physiology Department too we have succeeded at last in securing an expert and an author of several works in the subject, Dr. Burridge, who has only recently come out from England. Then, we have lately appointed to the Chair of Ophthalmology Dr. B. G. S. Acharya, who is the holder of numerous degrees and whose experience in dealing with eye cases extends over twelve years in England, Vienna, and India. We have also added to the staff a Reader in Materia Medica and Pharmacy with the object of facilitating research in indigenous drugs—an object which is warmly supported by public opinion, judging from the discussions in the local Legislative Council. This post is held by Rai Bahadur B. N. Vyas, who was Civil Surgeon of Moradabad before he joined the University. A scheme for conducting research in indigenous drugs in which teachers in

Chemistry, Physiology, Pathology, Materia Medica, and Pharmocology will co-operate, is under the consideration of the academic bodies of the University.

Numbers.

5. This brings me to the somewhat difficult question of restricting the number of admissions into the University, for the demand for admissions rises in proportion to the increase in the reputation of the University. The question is particularly acute in regard to the Faculty of Medicine, as our Medical College is the only one in the whole of the United Provinces. The accommodation, equipment and clinical material available impose a limit beyond which we dare not advance without impairing the efficiency of the institution, much as we sympathise with the disappointment of candidates who knock at our portals with earnestness only to be turned away without finding admission. The failure to obtain admission often results in much hardship and heart-burning, giving rise to complaints against the principles determining the selection of candidates. In order to put a stop to these, the University has passed an Ordinance under which admissions will be regulated by a competitive examination. This will stop the mouths of the aggrieved, but will unfortunately afford no real relief, which can only be found either by multiplying the class-room, hostel and hospital accommodation here or by starting another Medical College in Allahabad, both of which projects involve a heavy outlay of expenditure. In the other Faculties of this University the situation is not so serious, although both in the Faculties of Arts and Science also, owing to the inadequacy of class-room and hostel accommodation, admission had to be refused in several cases. Steps have now been taken to make a comparatively better provision in these particulars for admissions in the next term; but if the increase in numbers last year is any indication of what the numbers seeking for admission will be, it will be difficult with our slender resources to keep pace with the demand. The rise is particularly marked in the Science and in the post-graduate classes. Two years ago when the University was not in existence, the total number of

students in Lucknow preparing for the B. Sc. degree was 42: the number is more than doubled and is now 95. Post-graduate classes existed only in the Canning College and there were 13 students in Arts and 10 in Science. Now, there are 111 students doing post-graduate work, of whom 88 belong to the Faculty of Arts and 23 to the Faculty of Science.

Co-ordination.

6. The increase in the number of post-graduate students is distinctly encouraging, as it is an indication not only of the growing reputation of the University, but also of the greater tendency on the part of the students to take up higher work in the University, instead of being content with taking the lowest degree possible. Intensive post-graduate studies at once raise the intellectual level of the University and hold promise of an advance in knowledge which may prove to be of the greatest value in the economic development of the country. In order to facilitate specialisation and research work the University has now instituted Honours courses side by side with Pass Courses for the B. A. and B. Sc. degrees, so that there may be a sorting out of those who have an aptitude for higher University work from those who merely wish to get a Pass Degree as a passport to other fields of work. But making adequate provision for post-graduate work involves immense expenditure in equipment and staff, and as the amount of money available in the country for such work is limited, it is desirable that some sort of co-ordination and understanding between the different Universities should be arrived at, which would prevent unnecessary duplication and futile competition.

Informal or Tutorial Instruction.

7. While taking steps to stimulate post-graduate and research work, the University is not oblivious of the fact that in order to make sure that such work will bear fruit, it is necessary to secure a solid foundation of general education upon which the superstructure of research work is to be built. It is often remarked, and, I am afraid, with some justice, that the Indian intellect trained in modern Universities has been comparatively barren of creative work and has done little

towards the advancement of knowledge. But it was idle to expect more brilliant results from the lifeless and mechanical system of University education which held sway in the country until recently. It was obsessed by the examination fetish and the principal, if not the sole, function of the University was the regulating and working of the examination machinery so that a sufficient number of graduates might be turned out every year. Under such a system, colleges were devoid of any intellectual or social life and the contact between the minds of the students and their Professors was of the most nebulous character. The only occasion on which the student saw anything of the Professors was when he was delivering a formal lecture in the class-room and I have known of Professors who never knew one student from another, and could certainly never recognise the students either by name or appearance. These were, of course, extreme cases, as even under the old system there were teachers who tried to impress their personality upon their pupils by coming into closer contact with them, but if that was so, it was because they refused to be slaves of a system which their moral sense revolted against. But as a rule the student got little from his Professor besides formal lectures. Under the circumstances, is it to be wondered at that there was no incentive to intellectual activity, no stimulus to independent thinking, and no opportunity for the natural and healthy mental growth, which is possible only in a congenial atmosphere? Realising that formal lectures alone are not calculated to impart sound education, this University has started a system of tutorial instruction under which every teacher holds what might be termed Seminar Classes. He takes his students in batches of three to six, makes himself acquainted with the individual needs of each student and discusses with him personally his difficulties and doubts. At these discussions the teacher suggests new lines of thought and indicates the sources from which the student may seek materials for the particular line of study indicated. The student is thus encouraged to be self-reliant and to develop new interests, instead of giving his whole time

and attention to stuffing himself with lecture-notes or in swallowing deadly doses of cribs with which the educational book market is flooded, just to pass an examination. This system of tutorial instruction is reported to be fruitful of excellent results and its successful working is mainly due to the active interest taken in it by the veteran Principal of the Canning College, Mr. Cameron, whose whole-hearted co-operation and sound counsel have been most valuable assets in the building up of the University. We do not despise examinations, for we recognise their value and function in their legitimate sphere. Indeed, we earnestly believe that the intelligent and vitalising methods of education we have adopted must tell upon examination results also. The terrible tragedy of failures in the various University examinations of this country can only be accounted for by the defective character of the education imparted. In order that University degrees should command respect and be regarded as a valuable asset in life, it is absolutely necessary to maintain a sufficiently high standard of examination, and the only way in which such a standard can be maintained without being followed by the annual massacre of the innocents is to improve the quality and method of teaching. If this is assured, the rise in the percentage of passes is a "consummation devoutly to be wished"; but every effort must be made to be quite sure that the standard is not lowered. The courses of study must be carefully devised and only such examiners as have both learning and experience to their credit should be appointed. I believe we have, in this University, done a good deal already in improving the courses and methods of study, and it would be a surprise if the examination results did not show a corresponding improvement. The examiners appointed are men of standing and repute and in order to command public confidence we publish the names of examiners instead of keeping them confidential. The change in the statutes on the subject, to which I have already referred, is also directed towards ensuring this result.

Guardian Tutors.

8. In addition to the supplementary and tutorial instruction which brings the teachers and students into close contact, we have a system of

guardian tutors. Each student on his admission to the University is assigned to a particular teacher, who is *in loco parentis* and looks after the moral, intellectual, and physical welfare of the student in a special way throughout his University career, and gives him wholesome advice in all the difficulties of his life as a student.

Hostel accommodation.

9. The full value of this system can only be secured when the University is residential in reality as also in theory. The paucity of hostel accommodation continues to be a serious obstacle to our advancing towards the ideal we have set before ourselves. We did the best we could under the circumstances and added to the Hostel accommodation available in the Canning College by hiring a house in Kaiser Bagh and converting the two houses belonging to the University near the Iron Bridge into temporary hostels. But these makeshifts were unsatisfactory and met only very partially the demand for Hostel accommodation, with the result that a number of promising students who sought admission into this University had to go elsewhere. Next term, however, we hope to be able to make up this deficiency if not wholly, at least to a very considerable extent.

Buildings.

10. Of the new buildings which are under construction and which will be ready before July next there are

(1) a full Hostel providing accommodation for 100 boarders with quarters for an Assistant Warden and for servants,

(2) extensions to the Meston Hostel which will provide room for 40 extra boarders bringing the total in this Hostel up to 100, with quarters for an Assistant Warden and servants.

There will thus be accommodation for at least 300 boarders in the Canning College. We have not been able to take any steps towards providing an additional Hostel for the King George's Medical College as we were hoping that the Government might be able to transfer the buildings of the Husainabad High School to the University for the purpose.

The need for additional Hostel accommodation is, however, pressing and the matter is receiving the serious consideration of the University and the Government.

In addition to the Hostel buildings, we have built a house for a Professor, a house for a Reader, a house for the Lady Superintendent of the Hospital, and a house for the Obstetric Assistant Surgeon of the King George's Hospital. The two new houses for the Assistant Wardens will provide accommodation for two Lecturers. Many more houses for teachers of the University are needed as they are working at present under great discomfort owing to the difficulty of finding houses in Lucknow. The limitations imposed by our financial position, however, make it impossible for us to proceed with our building programme at a quicker pace. The buildings mentioned above will cost us about 4 lakhs. In addition to these we had to provide a new block for the teaching of Biology—with its two wings, one for Botany and another for Zoology,—as we are making it a special feature of this University, which has a flourishing Medical Faculty. This block has cost us about Rs. 1,10,000. Certain sums were also spent in alterations to existing laboratories and buildings bring up the total expenditure on buildings to Rs. 5,13,500. The construction of only the most urgently needed buildings was undertaken, and I am afraid that several other buildings almost equally essential will have to await a period of less financial stringency. It is with much regret that I have to announce the dropping of the project of the construction of the Convocation Hall of the University, as there was absolutely no prospect of our obtaining the amount needed in the near future, however desirable it may be for the University to have a large Hall. The Executive Council of the University took this decision with the consent and advice of the University's greatest benefactor, Sir Harcourt Butler, and much as one may feel disappointed at the vanishing of the dream of the beautiful and inspiring edifice, there can be no question as to the wisdom of the decision. The elimination of the Convocation Hall from the building programme, however, renders it imperative for

us to provide extra class rooms and laboratories in the Faculties of Science and Arts, as the plan of the Convocation Hall made provision for 19 urgently needed class rooms. It is proposed to add a new block for the teaching of Chemistry, thus leaving free the main block in the Canning College for teaching in the Faculties of Arts and Commerce. But I am very much afraid that even this urgent measure cannot be proceeded with at an early date for want of funds. I cannot but confess to a feeling of regret and disappointment at having been compelled by force of circumstances to postpone indefinitely our building programme, but I have not given up the hope that with the passing away of the phase of general financial pressure the University will be able to satisfy both its utilitarian and aesthetic demands.

Equipment.

11. The demand for better equipment for teaching of Science could only be partially met during the year, partly owing to the limited resources at the disposal of the University, and partly because the new building for the Biological Department was under construction and could not be equipped before it was finished. But, till now Rs. 23,500 have been spent in improving equipment of the laboratories in the Physics Department, Rs. 17,600 in the laboratories in the Chemistry Department, Rs. 17,500 in the laboratories in the Biology Department. Rs. 49,500 have been provided for the equipment of the new buildings of the Biology Department.

But what we have done in this direction is merely a small beginning, and much remains to be done before the equipment can satisfy the growing needs of the various departments in Science. Indeed, these departments cannot be properly and efficiently equipped till we have a new building for the teaching of Science constructed on approved plans appropriate to the teaching in each department.

Library.

12. The building up of a Library, which is a necessary part of the equipment of an efficient University has also been taken in hand, and books worth nearly Rs. 50,000 were bought during the year.

Finances.

13. The financial position of the University may be regarded as satisfactory having in view the fact that it had had such a short period in which to develop its resources. Out of a total of about 30 lakhs promised as donations, a sum of Rs. 17,19,124-6-1 has already been recovered. As some of the promised donations were to be paid in instalments, the amount already collected is encouraging. The University has still to depend for the bulk of the expenditure upon Government grants and may have to do so for a number of years to come. But as it is proposed to invest all the donations in gilt-edged securities so as to form a permanent Endowment Fund, spending only the income, it is hoped that in course of time the University will be practically independent of grants from Government, except for the maintenance of the King George's Medical College and Hospital, which were Government institutions transferred to the management of the University. The income from fees is showing an appreciable increase, and it is gratifying to note that in the financial estimates for the year 1923-24 the income from interest on investments and fees—not including the Medical College fees—is estimated at Rs. 2,40,000 and odd against Rs. 1,03,000 of last year, which shows that the income has more than doubled in the course of a year. The total recurring expenditure of the University as originally budgetted comes up to a little less than 14 lakhs including an expenditure of nearly 6 lakhs and a quarter on the Medical College and Hospital. We proposed to meet this expenditure from our resources with the Government recurring grant of Rs. 8,30,000 which we had last year, and which we hoped to have repeated this year. But this grant has been reduced by a lakh. So, we had to appoint a Retrenchment Committee to cut down our recurring expenditure by a lakh and we have had to give up the idea of creating chairs in Indian Philosophy and Applied Mathematics already approved of by the Academic Council. For non-recurring expenditure on equipment and buildings, most of which were to be residences for the teachers of the University, we provided in the original budget for a

non-recurring grant from Government of a lakh and a loan of Rs. 6,50,000. The Government have, however, been able to give us only a loan of Rs. 1,50,000; so, drastic cuts had to be made in our building programme.

Physical Education.

14. In our efforts to improve the minds and morals of the students committed to our care, we do not forget that physical welfare and development are as much a part of sound education as intellectual growth, for the life of the intellect can manifest itself in its fulness only when the vehicle of manifestation is healthy and vigorous. With the object that no physical ailment should remain undetected and uncared for, we have started a system of careful medical inspection of all the students who join the University and each student is thoroughly overhauled by the University Medical Officer at least once a year. Physical Training in the shape of drill has been made compulsory for all students in the first year of their University career. This is in addition to the various games like hockey, cricket, and football which are played by the students at all stages and in which some of the teachers of the University take part. A new feature in the training of the body and mind, which is pregnant with immense possibilities, has been developed during the year by the starting of an Officer's Training Corps. 74 students have actually joined the Corps, and over 140 are under training. Numerous applications had to be rejected, as the Military Authorities would not permit of our having more than a couple of Platoons for the present. This restriction had the effect of damping considerable enthusiasm, and one hopes that it will soon be removed. Our Registrar, Major T. F. O'Donnell—who is the Officer Commanding the 3rd Allahabad Battalion of the University Training Corps—takes a keen interest in this department of University activity and is ably supported in his efforts by Messrs. Strang and Walker. When I had the privilege of addressing a few words to the members of the Corps the day it was started, I had the pleasure and satisfaction of witnessing the warm glow of patriotism lighting up the young faces before me, when I impressed upon them the

importance of their military training if India was ever to assume its rightful place in the Commonwealth of the British Empire.

Subsidiary activities.

15. I have tried to give you some idea of the main currents of University life; but in every University there are a number of under-currents which influence and mould the student mind none the less powerfully, even if they do not form an ostensible part of University work. These subsidiary activities are in some ways more potent precisely because their influence is indirect and subtle; and it is these that go towards building up that indefinable and somewhat elusive factor of University life known as tradition. The more prominent of such movements are the University Extension Lectures and the University Union. A large number of Extension Lectures have been delivered throughout the term and some of these have been very well attended by the outside public. Besides the lectures given by the members of the University Staff there have been some very notable lectures delivered at the University by well-known scholars and public persons like Professor Mackenzie, Professor Macdonnell, Mrs. Mackenzie (who was Professor of Education at the University of Cardiff), Mr. Koo (Associate General and Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. for China), Dr. Annie Besant and Dr. Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore. The lectures delivered by Professor Macdonnell and Dr. Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore were presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler and Sir William Marris respectively. The Lucknow public have shown their appreciation of the efforts made by the University to bring them into touch with its intellectual life by attending most of these lectures in large numbers. Popular as these lectures have been, the interest created by the debates at the University Union, which was started only in August last with Dr. K. N. Bahl as President, has been phenomenal. Distinguished persons took part in several of the debates which were conducted in packed halls throbbing with enthusiasm. Among the remarkable debates to which I had

Extension Lectures.

University Union.

the pleasure of listening were those on the "Frontier Policy of the Government of India" in which Professor Rushbrook Williams took part, on the "Educational Policy of the U. P. Government" which was vigorously defended by the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani, and on the "Administration of Transferred Subjects in the U.P.", in which the Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narain, by his powerful eloquence, scored a remarkable victory. I must not omit to speak in this connection of the several dramas staged by the staff and students of the University, the most notable being Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore's "Waterfall" and an English version of "Sita's Exile" compiled by the students themselves with the help of some of the teachers. For fear of making invidious distinctions I have refrained from mentioning as far as possible the names of the members of the University Staff who have unstintedly given their time and energy to the successful working of the University, but I must not hold back from grateful recognition and mention the name of Mrs. Walker, who was the chief inspirer and organiser of the dramatic movement.

Dramas.

A quarterly Journal, called the Lucknow University Journal has also been started during the year. Three numbers of this Journal are already out, and the fourth number will be out in about a month's time. The Journal, besides giving University news in brief, contains articles written by the members of the staff. So far it has been pronounced to be a success, and efforts will be made during the next term to bring it up even to a higher standard of excellence. Mr. C. J. Brown has been the Editor, and Mr. Bhujanga Bhushan Mukerji has been the Business Manager of the Journal, and I am grateful to both these gentlemen for having given their services to the Journal without any payment.

Lucknow University Journal.

A society for the study of the Sociological problems of the neighbourhood and also designed to give practical help in that connection has been doing a lot of useful work under the guidance of its President, Professor Radha Kamal Mukerjee.

Sociological Society.

Influence on general public.

It will thus be seen that efforts have been made to enlist the sympathy and interest of the outside public in the University, which, in order to justify its existence, should not remain isolated from the general life of the place in which it is situated, but should influence and guide it into higher and more fruitful channels. Among the many achievements of this infant University, not the least gratifying is the creation of an academic atmosphere in which the outside public also share and find the necessary stimulus to their intellectual interests, and I have heard with pardonable pride the testimony borne by a number of old and highly esteemed residents of Oudh to the rise in the general level of thought in the minds of the educated public already effected by the existence of the University in their midst.

Conclusion.

16. As the term of my office expires in December next, and as in the normal course of things this is probably the last time I can have the opportunity of addressing the court, I crave your indulgence if, before I conclude, I strike a personal note in the hurried review of the work with which you had entrusted me. It is a little over two years ago that in consultation with and at the earnest desire of some of the most prominent promoters of the Lucknow University scheme, Sir Harcourt Butler summoned me and laid upon me the task of building up a University worthy of this beautiful and historic city and of its traditions of culture and learning. Humbly have I striven to render obedience to that behest, and strenuously have I tried to give to this University my best in the hope that, if the foundation was well and truly laid, the future edifice would not belie the vision which inspired me when I took up this work. Of the results of my work it is not for me to speak, for in the recessess of my heart echo with an all-compelling force the thrilling words of the solemn injunction laid down by one of the divine teachers of India on the field of Kurukshetra :

" The function is to act rightly and not to be concerned about results."

Moral laws are just as inexorable as physical laws and results will follow according to the nature of the causes generated. One can only hope that in spite of shortcomings and errors, the main stream of activity has been set flowing in the right direction. For any results that might already have manifested themselves, I am indebted to the inestimable help and co-operation I have never failed to receive from every member of the University, to one and all of whom my grateful thanks are due. What I value personally more than any outer success my humble efforts might have achieved is the uninterrupted flow of peace and goodwill which has characterised this University, ever since its inception. It is a great and, in these days of clash and conflict, a rare satisfaction to me to be able to feel that there is not a single member of the various University bodies, including this august body comprising men of different races and communities, who entertains towards me any feeling other than of friendship or whose co-operation I could not with confidence count upon. And I devoutly hope that after I have laid down office, this atmosphere of peace and goodwill will continue to nourish the growth of this University. Our present Chancellor, in his first message to the Province, over which he has been called upon to rule, expressed the wish of his heart to see peace reigning over every department of activity, and under his protecting wings there is every reason to believe that my hope will be fulfilled and that this University will thrive in harmony and peacefulness in the future as it has done during the short span of its past life. If any past services have given me any claim to submit a prayer to you, I beg of you that in all your activities you should maintain the same spirit of mutual helpfulness and loyal co-operation which has so far characterised the working of this University.

H. E THE CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen of the Court of Lucknow University.

It gives me great pleasure to fall in with the suggestion of your Vice-Chancellor that I should formally preside at the opening meeting of the first Court of Lucknow University assembled after my assumption of office.

The interesting and sympathetic review which the Vice-Chancellor has given of the past achievements of the University, his eloquent tribute to its far-sighted founder, and his expressions of heartfelt aspirations for the future, have made it needless for me to attempt to speak to you of such things. Nor will I myself enlarge upon the services which your Vice-Chancellor has rendered to the University, because I see that that very subject is one of the first matters set down for consideration upon the agenda paper. Nor am I sure what Dr. Chakravarti's wishes are as regards some of the resolutions which are to be moved. But I am glad that your proceedings are to open with expressions of gratitude for his services, and you may rest assured that whatever recommendation comes to me as Chancellor from the authority made competent by the Act to make it will receive most careful consideration.

Gentlemen, I have not had enough experience of University questions in this province to know whether the relations of the Chancellor to the various other university authorities are regarded by those interested as being simply those categorically enumerated in the University Act, or what significance was intended by the Legislature to be attached to its description of the Chancellor as head of the University. That there must be limitations upon the extent to which the Chancellor can personally share in the business of the Court, is to my mind obvious. It must be remembered that he is in fact a double personality; not merely the President of the University

Court, but also a member of a Government, which owes responsibilities in various other directions, and comprising an Hon'ble Minister (who I am glad to see present here) who is placed in charge of educational matters. For that reason, the extent of the Chancellor's active personal participation in the business of the Court may not always accurately measure, and will not, I hope, be taken to measure, his real interest in the fortunes of the University.

I have belonged in my time to two universities, one old and one young. The old one had won world-wide reverence, because for hundreds of years it had fought the battle of the sanctity of learning and the honour of the scholastic career. The young one had still its repute to win in the world; but guided and controlled as it was by men who were familiar with the standards and ideals of older universities, it combined a jealous defence of its own right of self-determination with a most determined resolve to uphold the level of education and the value of its degrees. You can judge yourselves of its self-denying attitude when I add that it caused the examination papers for its degrees and honours to be set and marked by examiners twelve thousand miles away from the examinees who presented themselves in the examination hall. So jealous was it of its good name and so resolved to avoid the slightest suspicion of the lowering of its degrees. That is an example which I fully realise no Indian university can reasonably be expected to imitate; but none the less it has, I hope, a certain idealistic interest for all our new universities which have yet to make good. For surely it is as true of a university as of anything else that, however necessary some measure of quantity must be for the attainment of any measure of quality—and I shall be the last person to deny that proposition—yet in the long run it is quality and not quantity that counts.

Gentlemen, you have a heavy programme of work before you and I will not any longer detain you; but I must not sit down without wishing that your deliberations may be conducted with wisdom, to the benefit of the University and to the great cause which it embodies.

रसानन्द

यह कवि विक्रम की १९वीं शताब्दी में हुआ है और इसका रचना-काल २०वीं शताब्दी तक चला जाता है। 'मिश्रबंधुविनोद' में इसका परिचय यों दिया हुआ है:—

नाम—रसानन्द भट्ट

ग्रन्थ—सग्रामरत्नाकर

कविता-काल—१८९९

विवरण—भरतपुर-नरेश महाराजा बलवंतसिंह की आज्ञानुसार रचा।

सच बात तो यह है कि रसानन्द 'भट्ट' नहीं था 'जट्ट' था। अलीगढ़ के ज़िले में इगलास की तहसील में बेसवाँ नाम का एक गाँव है। रसानन्द वहीं का रहनेवाला था। इस गाँव के प्रसिद्ध विद्याप्रेमी राजा गिरिप्रसादसिंह, जिन्होंने शुक्ल यजुर्वेद के महीधर भाष्य का हिन्दी में अनुवाद किया और 'जाटरोत्पत्ति' नाम की पुस्तक लिखकर अपने ही प्रेस में छपवाई थी, भारतेन्दु बाबू हरिश्चन्द्र के परममित्र थे। रसानन्दजी, महाराज बलवन्तसिंहजी के (जो सम्वत् १८८२ के लगभग, भरतपुर टूटने पर, गद्दी पर बैठे थे) ख़ास सरदारों में से थे। राजकुमार जसवन्तसिंहजी के धाऊ साहब से इनकी परम मित्रता थी और उन्हीं के आश्रय में इन्होंने बहुत कुछ काम किया। उस समय भरतपुर में कविता की बड़ी धूम थी और अनेक उत्तमोत्तम कवि विद्यमान थे। महाराज बलवन्तसिंहजी को कविता का बड़ा शौक़ था। वे स्वयं रचना करते थे और कवियों का सन्मान करके खूब ग्रन्थ लिखाते थे। उनकी धर्मपत्नी महारानी लक्ष्मीरानी भी कविता करती थीं। कविता करने का व्यसन लोगों में कहाँ तक बढ़ गया था यह बतलाने के लिये इतना ही कह देना बहुत है कि रसानन्द का बर्तन माँजनेवाला देविया भी काव्य-रचना करता था, और वह भी कुछ ऐसी वैसी नहीं। इस देविया के दो कवित्तों को नवीन ने अपने संग्रह में स्थान दिया है।

अब यहाँ रसानन्द के कुछ ग्रन्थों का परिचय दिया जाता है जो हमें खोज में मिले हैं। आशा है इसके और भी ग्रन्थों का पता लगेगा:—

(१) रसानन्दविलास—इसमें मंगलाचरण सहित नखशिख वर्णन है—

राधा राधारमन के चरण कमल उरधार,
सिखनख कौ विस्तार किय निज लघुमति अनुसार।
सम्वत् अष्टादस सतक और पच्यासी जानि,
अक्षय तृतिया माघ की पूरन ग्रन्थ प्रमानि।

यह ग्रन्थ महाराज बलवन्तसिंहजी के विनोद के लिये लिखा गया था।

(२) गंगाआगमन कथा—यह ग्रन्थ प्रायः अरिल्ल छन्द में है। इसके अन्त का छन्द यह है:—

क्रीड़ा करहिं जलजीव नाँघत शैल वन अतुराइकै,
चलि हरद्वार प्रयाग काशी मिली उदधिहिं जायकै;
तारयौ सकल रघुवंस यह सुख देखि नृप आनँद लह्यो,
निज उद्धरन हित यह चरित्र पवित्र रस आनँद कह्यो।

इस ग्रन्थ की जो प्रति हमें मिली उस पर 'मिती बैसाख कृष्ण २, संवत् १८६३' लिखा है। इस पर से हम यह निश्चय न कर सके कि यह तिथि ग्रन्थ-रचना की है या उसके नक़ल किये जाने की।

(३) व्रजेन्द्रविलास—इसमें पिंगल और अलंकार का विषय वर्णित है। उदाहरण:—

विचित्र अलंकार

करत जतन विपरीत जहँ फल प्रापति के काज,
ताहि विचित्र बखानहीं भूषन बुद्धिदराज।

यथा—

ग्रीषम के भानहू की भीषम मयूखनि में,
बैठि पंच ज्वालनि की माल जरिबौ करै;
सीत की न भीति मानैं परषि पुनीत सर,
सिसिर निसीथिनु में तहाँ अरिबौ करै;
भनि रस आनँद भभूति लिपिटायेतन,
मनकौं लगायें भलै ध्यान धरिबौ करै;
देख्यौ राजपदवी के भोग भोगिबे के काज,
जोग लिये जोगी ये जतन करिबौ करै।
इहाँ जोग करिकै राजपद भोगिबे की इच्छा राखिबौ विपरीत जतन है।

(४) 'व्रजेन्द्रविलास' में कितने ही कवित्त 'व्रजेन्द्रप्रकास' नाम की पुस्तक में से दिये गये हैं। खेद है यह पुस्तक, बहुत खोजने पर भी, हमें न मिली।

(५) समररत्नाकर, (६) संग्रामकलाधर, (७) मौजप्रकास:—

प्रथम समररत्नाकर ग्रन्थ जु बिस्तरयौ, जामें जैमिनि अश्वमेध भाषा करयौ।
रचौ द्वितिय संग्रामकलाधर कौं तथा, है जामें वैराटपर्व की सब कथा॥
तीजै मौजप्रकास की जु रचना करी, तामें अद्भुत रास जु क्रीड़ा बिस्तरी।
अब व्रजेन्द्र जसवन्तसिंह हित प्रीतिसौं, रचौ ग्रन्थ इक न्याय नीति की रीतिसौं॥
बाण ब्रह्म निधि ससिहि गुनि सम्बत् विक्रम राय।
अक्षय तृतिया मास पुनि माधव गुरु दिन पाय॥

इससे सूचित होता है कि 'मिश्रबन्धुविनोद' में जो 'संग्रामरत्नाकर' नाम दिया हुआ है वह 'समररत्नाकर' और 'संग्रामकलाधर' का घोटाला है।

(८) हितकल्पद्रुम—यह फ़ारसी की 'अनवारसुहेली' नाम की पुस्तक का (जो स्वयं संस्कृत से अनुवादित है) पद्यानुवाद है। यह अनुवाद, महाराज जसवन्त-सिंह की बाल्यावस्था में 'प्रेमसतसई' के लेखक धाऊ गुलाबसिंहजी ने 'मुलाहिज़े के वास्ते' कराया था। यह ग्रन्थ संवत् १९३९ में आगरे के 'सत्यप्रकाश' यन्त्रालय में श्रीयुत ज्वालाप्रसाद भार्गव शर्मा के प्रबन्ध से छपा था। इसमें मंगलाचरण के बाद 'मल्कैमुअज़्ज़में' और उनके प्रबन्ध की प्रशंसा और अँगरेज़ों की वीरता का कथन किया गया है। यहाँ तक कह डाला गया है कि ग़दर में दस अँगरेज़ों ने दस हज़ार शत्रुओं को मार गिराया। क्योंकि कवि ग़दर के समय जीवित था इसलिये उसकी बात पर विश्वास कर लेने को जी चाहता है।

बद्रीनाथ भट्ट।

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